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ABSTRACT

Should universities collaborate with trade unions and workers' education bodies? If so, how and why? These and other related questions were explored in a research project undertaken by the International Labour Office and provided the basis for a symposium held in Geneva, November 1973. This document summarizes the research findings, relevant points of the symposium discussions, and the conclusions reached by the participants, as well as their contributions with regard to distinctive natural experiences. The information contains the form, nature, and extent of the collaboration between universities and trade unions in the field of workers' education. (MJM)

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THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN WORKERS EDUCATION

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Should universities collaborate with trade unions and workers' education bodies? If so, how and why? These and other related questions were explored in a research project undertaken by the ILO and provided the basis for the Symposium on the Role of Universities in Workers' Education, held in Geneva from 19-28 November 1973.

This comment summarises the research findings, relevant points of the Symposium discussions, the conclusions reached by the participants, as well as their contributions with regard to distinctive natural experiences. The information it contains in respect of the form, nature and extent the collaboration between universities and trade unions in the field of workers' education may take will no doubt be of interest to all those concerned with the promotion of greater educational opportunities for workers.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYMPOSIUM ON THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN WORKERS' EDUCATION

Background

The action by the ILO in the field of workers' education during the past decades has been significant for trade union organisations in various ways. It has facilitated the development of their training, study and research work. It has stimulated considerable interest on the part of other institutions in various aspects of that work. That interest has found positive expression in the increasing concern by universities with workers' education.

The need to provide for further steps in that direction, stressed by universities and trade union organisations both in industrialised and developing countries, and the recognition of its urgency in various resolutions adopted by the International Labour Conference, led to the undertaking by the ILO of a research project on the role of universities in workers' education. The purpose of the project was to identify the needs which university collaboration could help satisfy in the field of workers' education; to analyse the forms that could be taken by this collaboration between the unions and the university, so as to equip the Office to advise universities and trade union organisations and to help them to set up or develop training programmes.

The natural outcome of that project was the Symposium on the role of universities in workers' education, held in Geneva from 19 to 28 November 1973. Three main factors made the meeting timely and significant. Initiatives by participants had inspired the ILO in developing its action in the field of workers' education; their views on the issues for discussion would also influence that action in the years to come. The conclusions of the meeting were bound to have an impact not only on workers and their organisations but also on various educational institutions. From that perspective these conclusions might prove particularly valuable to those concerned with finding the right balance between formal and non-formal education.

Participants and Agenda

Twenty experts took part in the Symposium, among whom were university people, trade union educators and representatives of workers' education. Also participating in the Symposium was a representative of UNESCO; the International Institute of Labour Studies, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the World Confederation of Labour and the World Federation of Trade Unions sent observers.

The agenda was as follows:

(a) Co-operation between universities and trade unions in the field of workers' education, with special reference to programmes and methods.

(b) The possible contribution of the ILO, especially in the development of technical co-operation projects.

Opening Sitting

Mr. Y. Ohno, Assistant Director-General of the International Labour Office and representative of the Director-General, welcomed the experts and observers present at the Symposium. Mr. Ohno emphasised that the conclusions to be reached by the Symposium would be of the greatest value for the development of the ILO Workers' Education Programme, particularly in regard to the research project undertaken on the role of universities in that domain. The contribution of the ILO in the field of technical co-operation would depend on the requests it received and efforts made to promote and to support them. The ILO will respond to such requests to the best of its ability, subject to the availability of resources. Mr. Paul B.J. Chu, Chief of the ILO Workers' Education Branch, stressed the importance of the initiatives taken within the framework of the Workers' Education programme of the ILO, under which the Symposium was organised. He explained the background and purpose of the Symposium and proposed a programme of work designed to stimulate discussion on matters that might supplement the information contained in the working papers in respect of the various aspects of the item on the agenda. He stressed that the views and experience of the participants would be of great interest to all concerned with workers' education and related activities. A document summarising the work of the meeting would be prepared and largely distributed.

The participants in the Symposium elected as Chairman Mr. Marcel David, Director of the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Paris; as Vice-Chairman Mr. Vijendra Kabra, Director of the Asian Trade Union College of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and Mr. Rex Nettleford, Director of the Extra-Mural Department of the University of the West Indies; as reporters Mr. André Braconier, Director of Training at the Education and Research Centre for Trade Union Officers in Brussels; Mr. A.L. Hepworth, Education Director of the Canadian Labour Congress; and Mr. A. Serrano Caldera, Secretary General of the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua.

Introduction

The Symposium held sixteen sessions, during which the discussion of the points on the agenda was related to questions referred to in four documents which had previously been submitted to the participants. The participants were thus enabled to proceed to an exchange of views and an analysis of the experience they had acquired in relation to their related activities. Thereafter an examination was made of the origin and initiation of university programmes in workers' education, and of aims and objectives of university programmes. The discussion of patterns of partnership and collaboration between universities and workers' organisations terminated with an examination of the organisational and administrative structure adopted for these programmes. The participants then considered financial and other matters concerning staffing and training of the personnel involved. An analysis of the activities included in these programmes served to bring out the importance of the courses, their objectives and scope as well as their subject matter; educational methods and techniques, and ways and means of promoting research and documentation. The last sessions were dedicated to a discussion of methods of evaluation of the programmes, and the formulation of suggestions in regard to the role of the ILO. These suggestions, and consequently the conclusions which developed from them as listed below, were adopted at the closing session.

General Discussion

A general discussion, preliminary to the detailed consideration of the points on the agenda, provided an opportunity for the participants to explain the main features of their work and concrete experiences. Individual presentations in this connection were followed by questions and comments which supplemented the information available, particularly as regards background problems, actual trends and potential development of co-operation patterns between universities and trade union organisations in the field of workers' education.

The discussion revealed the complexity of those problems, the differing nature of the conditions determining specific trends and the distinctive elements of the various approaches that could be adopted. It thus stimulated the participants to compare personal experience and knowledge, and to learn from one another. Moreover, following the identification of essential principles, it contributed towards the definition of objectives and concrete measures for long-term concerted action by the bodies concerned.

The increasing recognition of the need for that action throughout the world was giving considerable impetus to the development of initiatives similar to those taken by trade union organisations and universities in a number of countries some decades ago. The more so since their joint effort designed to improve knowledge and broaden experience constituted a form of co-operation required in order to ensure coherent economic, social and institutional progress.

That form of co-operation, motivated by the belief that in modern societies workers' education had become highly desirable, was influenced by factors such as the level of development, the emphasis in educational planning, the attitude of public bodies, trade union choices, historical links, cultural features, the university structure and the composition of its staff, the economic and social systems. The concept of workers' education was a further determining factor in as much as it might be related to adult or life-long education, instruction of technical and vocational character, as well as trade union training. Account was also taken of the fact that universities often considered workers' education as a marginal task which they undertook in addition to their normal central functions to supplement the educational work performed by the trade union themselves.

The involvement of universities in workers' education was still incipient in many developing countries. It was hampered by shortages of academic staff; financial resources; training facilities and teaching material. The labour force, its composition and rate of growth; the action taken by the trade union movement and its impact on living conditions; the employment trends, while constituting motivating factors, sometimes inhibited university participation in workers' education.

In a number of countries action to promote that participation had been taken some time ago, particularly in Latin America. Following attempts by universities to develop workers' education in countries such as Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Mexico and Peru, progress was made in bridging the gap between academic circles and the labour world.

Evidence of this was to be found more recently in the establishment of bodies for university and trade union co-operation within the framework of the extension departments of various universities. That co-operation was being developed, particularly in Central American countries. Courses for workers from these countries, such as those held at the University of Nicaragua, were supported by the other universities in the area. The principles applied were: joint administration and financing; representation in terms of trade union pluralism; selection of participants through trade union centres linking with internal programmes of the universities; respect for the mutual independence of both university and trade union.

Other forms of collaboration were the assistance in lesson or programme planning, the technical contributions made by university staff, the provision of facilities for workers' education activities sponsored by unions. Many national trade union centres and their permanent training schools requested ad hoc collaboration of this type in Latin America. This approach was followed by regional bodies of international trade union organisations.

In the Caribbean where the extra-mural system had taken root, there was clear awareness of the role of the university in workers' education. Training and research work constituted the main joint venture. Structures providing for collaboration in the planning and implementation of relevant projects have been established, most notably in the Trade Union Education Institute of the University of the West Indies. The unions took the responsibility for receiving the release of trainees, their task was facilitated by the increasing number of collective agreements containing clauses in respect of paid educational leave. Labour studies were being encouraged within the university framework and a flow of higher degree theses in that field had already began. The setting up of two labour colleges added up to a very significant co-operation between the university and the trade union movement in workers' education.

Similarly in some Asian countries university interest in workers' education was gradually increasing. Efforts such as those made in India and Singapore were widening the basis for more effective co-operation in a region where the needs were greatest and the problems most acute.

In addition to its extension activities at the national level, the University of the Philippines was engaged for two decades in workers' education of regional scope. Firstly emphasis was placed on leadership training, more specialised courses were organised later; they were followed by research and other activities. The teaching staff was drawn from the university and from trade unions. A labour advisory council composed of representatives of major labour federations provided assistance in respect of the setting up and adaptation of study programmes.

Universities and other institutions of higher education were encouraged to play a part in trade union educational work. Recent developments in this connection had been stimulated by bodies such as the Asian Trade Union College through the implementation of workers' education projects on population, in which, specialised university staff advised on technical subjects and on the application of evaluation methods for effective learning purposes.

In various African countries there was a growing move towards increased collaboration between universities and trade union organisations in the field of workers' education. Initiatives taken in the past decade in countries such as Kenya, Ghana and Senegal ascertained the extent to which that collaboration was possible. It was only natural that almost simultaneously bodies such as the University of Sierra Leone should develop extra-mural work designed to assist in the education of workers at all levels and to help in the training of trade union leaders and of adult educators. A relatively recent body such as the University of Zambia was establishing working contacts with the trade union movement with the aim of setting up organic links for co-operation purposes. In the meantime arrangements had been made for the organisation of courses on a paid-release basis to which both unions and management contributed. A chair of industrial relations at the university was under consideration. The university was examining also the possibility of preparing models of training schedules for illiterates. More recently the concern of the University of Zaire with workers' education had found positive expression in courses and study programmes for trade union members.

In the Middle East action by universities of countries such as the Lebanon was stimulating the interest of trade union organisations in possible forms of co-operation. This facilitated the identification of needs and the setting up of specific projects including research designs and guidelines for negotiation with multinationals.

In industrialised countries workers' education had a long tradition and various types of co-operation between universities and trade union organisations have passed the test of time. That co-operation had been largely instrumental in the setting up of specific university departments designed to promote education in academic subjects for members of the labour movement; the undertaking of special programmes to facilitate training and research work by unions; the establishment of institutions to help workers to enter the regular higher education system.

In the market economy countries the contribution of the universities to workers' education consisted in the majority of cases of activities that were subsidiary to the trade union educational action. Generally these activities had resulted from pioneer initiatives taken by university staff. The unions support for those initiatives and their confidence in the value of the activities they led to were coextensive with the services which they expected from them.

In Belgium an open faculty of political and social economy had been established and the unions, jointly with management, had secured release for worker-students. Local initiatives had been taken by the trade union movement to ensure supplementary education to their members by universities. Action in this connection might develop following the enactment of legislation on paid educational leave.

In Canada, the labour movement had met with a positive response in various universities; in other cases it was using the community colleges instead. On the whole unions considered colleges and universities as educational mechanisms through which labour goals could be achieved; they asked universities and colleges to take them at their point of need. Special relationships with specific institutions had been developed. Thus the Labour College of Canada was operated jointly by the Canadian Labour Congress, McGill University and the University of Montreal. It offered eight-week residential courses and a correspondence course; certificates were delivered on completion of the respective programmes. Instructor training was carried out by the universities of British Columbia, Saskatchewan and St. Joseph. A labour education centre was established for the Atlantic region with an operating base with St. Francis Xavier University. The Ontario Community College included a school of labour studies identical in status and financed in the same way as the other four schools of the College. The first labour education credit programme was established in 1968 by the Institute of Labour and Labour-Management Studies of the School of Community Education of Niagara College.

In France the specific contribution of the university to workers' education was the high level of studies. The first initiative, taken in Strasbourg seemed to university staff and trade union representatives to be significant enough to warrant the creation of a fully independent labour institute. However, for reasons of convenience, it was integrated with the university through the faculty of law and economics. In the past twenty years similar institutes were established at the universities of Aix-en-Provence, Bordeaux, Grenoble, Lyon, Nancy and Paris. Their activities were decided by a board consisting of university teachers and trade unionists in equal numbers, who might be joined by representatives of the public authorities specially interested in the institute's work. These activities included courses, mostly of one or two weeks' duration, covering subjects ranging from labour law to the process of ageing among workers; the study programmes varied in emphasis from institute to institute. Since 1968 all labour institutes have had the option of becoming research and teaching units on the same footing as all other constituent parts of a university. In addition, regulations issued for the institutes facilitated special arrangements in certain matters. Since the change of status was optional, not all the institutes were in the same situation, however, with this possibility of strengthening their position, they have a good chance of developing to the point where they would cease to be marginal in the university.

In Japan the experience was based on local initiatives such as those taken by Meiji Gakuin University and the Metalworkers' Federation. These initiatives had been facilitated by the growing interest of public authorities in workers' education. The Japan Institute of Labour, established in 1958 as an autonomous body of the Ministry of Labour, had a full-time research and training staff that co-operated with universities in various tasks.

In the United Kingdom efforts to secure university participation were made already in the past century. Early in this century the Workers' Educational Association and the University of Oxford determined together the development of the higher level programmes; Ruskin College was created in close co-operation with the Trade Union Congress. University extra-mural departments later provided tutors for study groups set up by the Workers' Educational Association, as well as academic advice and guidance. During the past twenty years increased attention was being paid by British universities to more specific needs of trade unionists. Day-release courses of various kinds for students recruited directly from the workplace were being developed with the co-operation of individual unions in sixteen universities. The courses varied in length but many were of one, two or three years' duration. Some students followed up their studies in residential colleges, particularly in Ruskin, but most of them stayed in their working situation and developed into leaders of the labour movement.

A typical example of university participation in workers' education in the United States of America was the action by the Labour Education Institute at Rutgers University. The Institute had been able to surmount trade union suspicion and university reluctance; to achieve academic respectability for labour institutes and labour studies. Its action had contributed in no small measure to the establishment of the University Labour Education Association of which some twenty-five universities were members. From small beginnings providing for basic trade union education to specific groups, the Institute now operates a wide range of activities under a state advisory council, a trade union consultative committee and a labour alumni association. The Institute offered a four-year programme of trade union leadership courses, on completion of which a certificate was awarded. It had also succeeded in establishing a bachelor's degree in labour studies. By 1973 the Institute had developed a basic trade union programme, constrained only by budget and staff workload, an intermediate programme of substance and national repute and breached the academic barriers to workers' education specialists. On the union side, a new development of great importance was the establishment of the AFL-CIO Labour Studies Centre on its own campus in Maryland. It had affiliated, for academic purposes, to the University without Walls programme, offered and validated by a consortium of American colleges.

In countries with centrally planned economies workers' education was approached, in terms of the distinctive functions of its components, by bodies that, with public support, were each playing its alloted part in the development of the skills required by citizens in their various capacities.

In the USSR those bodies included workers' high schools, industrial academies, people's universities, labour schools, trade union colleges. At national level the education and training of trade union leaders and activists was assured by two trade union colleges of higher education, of which one was in Moscow and the other in Leningrad. In Moscow the emphasis was placed on the study of labour economics, labour history and the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. Subjects such as trade union action, with particular reference to organisational methods and participation in the social security system were given considerable attention. In Leningrad much of the basic curriculum was the same but there was a special emphasis upon the cultural-educational role of trade unions. Students graduated as labour economists or as specialists in the organisation and methods of higher educational and cultural work, respectively in Moscow and Leningrad. Both colleges ran courses by correspondence for extra-mural students and had opened offices in other cities to provide counselling services for such students. The All-Union Central Council also organised advanced courses for senior trade union leaders. In the regions some 120 courses were arranged and attended by 500,000 students a year. These courses were mainly for newly-appointed presidents of factory and local committees, chairmen and executives of collective farms, and presidents of comrades courts. At the local level permanent seminars were organised by councils and branch committees of trade unions. This activity was on the increase in industrial undertakings, work sites and collective farms. The universities each devoted much of their time to evening and correspondence courses without separating their work organisationally from the teaching of ordinary students. The preparatory sections founded in the different universities and the creation of university branches in the enterprises constituted recent innovations.

The general discussion was followed by a broad exchange of views on the role of the ILO in promoting action in various ways in this field. The participants in the Symposium then reached the following conclusions and made the specific suggestions formulated below.

Conclusions and Suggestions

The role of universities in the field of workers' education required urgent attention and review, in the face of the challenge of social, economic and cultural development, modern advances in science and technology, the drive towards the democratisation of education, the human right to life-long education and contemporary developments in both universities and workers' education.

Workers and their organisations pressed for their maximum access to educational opportunities as a necessary corollary to their increasing rights and responsibilities in modern societies, in industrialised as well as developing countries. Working men and women aspire to participate in all forms of higher education and adult education which form an integral part of national educational systems. Public authorities should adopt social measures giving workers access to higher education.

In their endeavour to further scientific knowledge and ensure the spirit of objectivity in their teaching modern universities sought to adapt their historic structures and traditional objectives in order to serve the whole of society of which workers form a majority, albeit underprivileged educationally. The services of the university should be at the disposal of workers and their organisations, as they have already been extended to other groups in society.

Consequently the participants in this Symposium used the term "universities" to cover all educational institutions which provide post-secondary higher education to students in the traditional sense and which provide a complementary education to adult workers, both as individuals or in groups. In different countries and regions these university institutions ranged from community colleges, technical colleges or institutes of various kinds, public or private.

Workers' education was considered as covering all educational activities relating to workers associated in any way with the labour movement or agreeing to receive training under the aegis of the representative labour organisations, and undertaken with a view to promoting the collective advancement of labour while contributing to the personal development of all those able to participate in them.

The central focus of all these workers' education activities was to provide selected trade unionists at all levels with the kind of training they need to better carry out their work in the trade unions and through them in society in general.

Workers' education also included those efforts aimed at providing unorganised workers and the public in general with information on labour subjects. This information on labour problems for non-members of the trade union movement might be offered by the body set up by trade unions and universities for joint co-operation purposes. In this case it could be considered either as an integral part of workers' education activities or as an extension of these activities. Seen in this latter light, there was a need to distinguish between the education offered to workers in particular and to the public in general.

The participants recalled the resolution adopted in 1950 by the International Labour Conference requesting that "The International Labour Organisation will take appropriate measures to promote opportunities for workers to be educated in order to enable them to participate more effectively in various workers' movements and to fulfil more adequately their trade union and related functions".

Today, workers' education took on a new dimension as a means by which the trade unions could help the worker deal with his problems in his role as a producer, consumer and citizen. In effect embracing that group of goals which generally come under the notion of "quality of life".

The basic content of workers' education was of course related to the specific society, the specific country and the specific economic framework in which it is developed. In developing countries the objectives of workers' education are mainly the following:

(i) to educate workers in such a way that they join trade union organisations and participate in their activities and form workers' organisations where they do not exist;

(ii) to train members of workers' organisations to more effectively participate in the running of these organisations;

(iii) to develop the technical capacities of trade union officers;

(iv) to promote the effective participation of workers' organisations in the choice of objectives and in the development process of the societies and communities to which they belong;

(v) to help everyone to understand the objectives of workers' organisations and to promote an interest in the labour movement.

In developing countries the needs were such that everything that has to do with education is important. Nevertheless priorities are necessary, particularly where universities and trade unions embark on joint schemes of educational collaboration.

Origin and Initiatives of Collaboration between Trade Unions and Universities

The primary responsibility for workers' education and in particular trade union training, lies with the workers' organisations themselves.

As a general rule, trade unions should develop basic training activities of their own, as a foundation from which they seek the complementary assistance of universities in broader aspects of workers' education.

The need for collaboration between trade unions and universities in the field of workers' education was unanimously recognised. The growing educational needs of trade union members have become more and more complex and difficult to meet, as have the responsibilities of trade unions increased in variety and volume. Liaison with universities is a means of furthering trade union training. Without being a trade union instrument the university should help in the understanding of the importance and the needs of the trade union movement.

Some universities take more and more initiatives and in that way they meet trade union willingness for co-operation. The general attitudes of universities towards society have evolved; today they are confronted with students not only in their individual capacities but as groups with whom they have to negotiate to meet their training needs.

Workers should help universities review their criteria in terms of trade union concerns. The university must seek its roots in society. By so doing, it will broaden its aims and better serve all of society.

While in general university participation in workers' education did not raise any problems, some distrust did exist, particularly in countries where universities were still wholly under the control of governments. In some countries universities came up against problems in carrying out workers' education programmes. Teachers, particularly those dealing with the social sciences interpreted the programmes distinctively in accordance with their political point of view. The trade unions were divided and this raised certain problems, although experience proved that trade union pluralism should not be an insuperable obstacle to workers' education. Finally, universities hesitated to embark upon workers' education programmes because of their heavy work load and because of the many problems they faced with regard to the general student body.

What Trade Unions Expect from University Collaboration

The question of what trade unions expect from universities varied in relation to the distinctive economic and social structure of the country in question. There was a general consensus however that trade unionr expect the following from universities:

(i) training in social and economic matters including promotion of knowledge of labour history;

(ii) theoretical and action-oriented research based on union experience as well as to open new fields of experience;

(iii) training in teaching methods so as to improve the quality of teaching undertaken by the trade unions.

Certain participants were of the opinion that trade unions should be wholly concerned with basic and middle-level training while universities should focus only on higher-level training. Others felt, to the contrary, that universities should carry out all levels of training as one of the university's aims in this field to help workers move from one educational level to another in the service of their trade unions.

Workers' education and the university are based on a common concept of general culture which should be capable of promoting a critical sense and not just technical know-how. The university should be able to develop the intellectual skills required in all sorts of situations, e.g. the ability to press issues in collective bargaining, the process of thinking and the ability to negotiate, to express ideas and to communicate, to develop intellectual sensibilities rather than technical details.

Social scientists including the most eminent writers should also place their work at the disposal of the trade union movement. This requires, however, a certain adaptation of the language to make the work accessible to workers which also presupposes that those writers have sufficient time available to do so. On the other hand, teaching methods should be adapted to the type of experience relevant to trade union activity and to the labour environment.

Finally, universities by their work can help the trade unions by informing an often ill-informed public.

They can also undertake comparative studies of labour disputes and the settlements adopted.

Moreover the universities can make a supplementary contribution by offering facilities at all levels such as meeting rooms, weekend residential centres, etc.

In developing countries universities can in particular:

(i) offer library services to workers;

(ii) organise special courses to train social scientists specialised in labour problems;

(iii) assist in improving trade union teaching methods and techniques including audio-visual aids;

(iv) help the trade unions evaluate their methods;

(v) help the trade unions study in depth the history of the trade union movement;

(vi) provide study material on questions of trade union concern and interest.

In some developing countries there is a need for the university to concern itself in a specific way determined by its educational mandate with literacy education and development of models of literacy training especially of a widespread utility for workers.

In all countries universities in collaboration with trade unions should help workers develop their interest in international affairs so as to better understand problems in developing countries, particularly because the growth of multinational enterprises requires self-defence and collective bargaining at the international level.

Moreover, some participants suggested the establishment of an international association of universities responsible for developing workers' education programmes.

Collaboration between Universities and Trade Unions: Organisation and Structure

The characteristics of the structures set up to promote this co-operation are in some countries a joint university body established in the context of the university. The joint nature of this body is reflected both in the structure of its administrative board and in the way it functions. This body is responsible for the development of training programmes, teaching methods and for the running of training activities. Teaching is ensured both by university professors and by trade unionists. Between trade unions and universities co-operation is based on mutual respect and understanding.

In some countries workers' education is conducted almost entirely through extra-mural departments. Other workers' education programmes are being developed in association with polytechnics and colleges of further education.

The trade unions define their objectives and propose the programmes which the colleges should carry out on the basis of collective negotiation. The trade unions select the institutions with which they want to work and not only make sure that the syllabus is developed so as to meet the needs of the shop stewards, but that the tutors will have appropriate knowledge and training material.

In many countries a great importance is also attached both to trade union and university autonomy.

In the framework of university extra-mural programmes it is possible to carry out activities in collaboration with the trade unions without having to go through the central body of the university.

The participants unanimously rejected all forms of paternalism.

The Symposium adopted the following recommendations:

(i) The co-operation between universities and trade unions requires specific organisational forms which reflect both the distinctive characteristics of the universities and trade unions in question.

(ii) The pattern of organisational collaboration and practices should respect trade union independence as well as the autonomy of the university.

(iii) If labour institutes undertake international activities this should be done in agreement with the trade union organisations concerned. This co-operation should scrupulously respect national economic, political and social independence. This recommendation might be further developed in view of possible quadripartite co-operation.

Patterns of Partnership and Collaboration

With reference to the patterns of partnership between universities and trade unions there was general agreement that respect for the autonomy and independence of both the university and the trade unions are essential prerequisites. These must be protected by the establishment of organic and other arrangements which will carry out the objectives of a workers' education programme. Notwithstanding its autonomy, the university should not be a place of isolation; on the contrary, the closer the ties the university establishes with the trade unions the better it will understand the aims and nature of their objectives and the more effective it will become. The Symposium stressed the need for flexibility in the arrangements between universities and trade unions.

With reference to selection procedures for workers' education courses, it was felt that these should be established by the trade unions while the universities should apply flexible academic standards so as to facilitate the adaptation of the programme to the requirements and experience of the worker-students. Therefore it was considered appropriate to set up advisory or consultative committees to deal with all aspects of programme and other arrangements. Moreover it was suggested that trade union officers responsible for workers' education should be directly involved in the guidance and control of workers' education.

Taking into account the wide differences existing in various countries it was considered appropriate to recommend that careful consideration be given to the conclusions of the Symposium so as to determine their possible follow-up, either partially or as a whole, with respect to the distinctive conditions at the national and regional levels.

Financing

Several times during the discussion participants pointed out that in view of the differing national patterns of social, political, economic, industrial and institutional development, different kinds of schemes for financing workers' education activities have to be established. The main concern is that workers' education, whose tasks are practically limitless, should not be subverted or slowed down at the expense of controls imposed from the outside, whether they be public or other. The financing could also be ensured by legislation and national agreements providing for paid educational leave for workers' education and offering trade unions other means of finance.

The sources of financing are many since single-source funding might lead to administrative dependence. In this connection it was noted that the advisability or not of accepting specific financial contributions does not depend on who offers them but on the conditions under which they are offered, and in no case should trade unions accept financial support which is detrimental to their autonomy.

In most cases state financing does not lead to public control of the courses - if it did, because of their very autonomy, neither trade unions nor universities would be able to accept this. Bearing in mind the responsibility of the State with respect to the utilisation of public funds proper auditing procedures are required.

Where public financing is involved for workers' education activities some participants considered it important that unions in view of widely varying conditions should not be the direct recipients of these funds but that they be channelled through bodies set up for this purpose. Other participants considered that trade unions were entitled to public funds directly, provided adequate safeguards were established.

It was considered necessary and desirable to emphasise that workers' education, by definition, is an integral part of the public system. Therefore it should be financially treated like any other form of officially recognised education. In effect, workers' education is an integral part of post-secondary education and deserves both official recognition and substantial financial support.

Funding of workers' education by employers can only be agreed upon between the most representative trade unions and the universities concerned as workers' education cannot be bought like a commodity in the market place.

There was no objection to employers' collaboration when it takes the form of collective bargaining or legislative arrangements such as paid educational leave, day release courses, reimbursement of fees to worker-student. Particular emphasis was placed on other collaboration arrangements such as negotiated fellowships, scholarships, bursaries and other benefits. When negotiated as part of a collective agreement they become an obligation on the part of management and form part of the wages and benefits structure.

The Symposium recommended that collaboration between universities and trade unions should be established on a mutually acceptable basis and that there should be no paternalism involved. Particular emphasis was placed on a partnership based on patterns of association, collaboration and structure of a respect for mutual autonomy.

It was pointed out that university assistance to workers' education may take several forms: it may be in kind rather than in funds, e.g. by provision of teaching staff, classrooms, research and reference resources and other facilities of this type.

The significance lies not only in the amount the unions contribute to the universities but in the gesture. The trade union contribution may be in kind such as through the time and skill of a union officer, in arranging for educational leave for a member, setting up meetings and interviews, in lecturing, and in promoting and publicising the programme.

Some participants considered that unions should make a contribution, no matter how small, to the workers' education programmes undertaken with universities and other bodies. They recognised in this connection that the financial contribution of the unions to workers' education programmes organised by universities was an essential responsibility although the unions' own training and education programmes constitute a first and major claim on their available financial resources. Other participants considered that trade unions should not be required to make this contribution.

It was further agreed that workers' education required all the financial and other support it could obtain. Therefore, all sources and all manner of arrangements - consistent with the guidelines enunciated above - are worthy of active exploration.

This is all the more important, since, as recognised by the participants workers' education for a long time to come is likely to be a matter of limited resources pursuing unlimited needs.

Selection

Trade unions should play an active role, in keeping with principles of respect for mutual autonomy, in the selection of university training staff. Nonetheless, in respect of selection of students who are trade union officers the trade unions should have the sole authority. If the training was "across the board", for general purposes, then joint action was desirable with trade unions adhering to their purposes and the university maintaining its standards.

"Political" or bureaucratic criteria for selection of students at the union or union centre levels could be disastrous and was often, at the least, a waste of scarce resources on underqualified or overqualified participants.

The Staffing and Training of Personnel Involved

An understanding of both the nature of trade unionism and of the university was crucial if the best staff selection and instructor training procedures were to be applied.

The teaching staff for workers' education programmes should have a trade union and preferably a university or equivalent academic background. Where this target was not possible, then a small nucleus of teachers with both experiences could be supplemented by others in the creationn of an adequate teaching faculty. Whatever their background, it was desirable for teachers to maintain strong ties with trade union organisations and to share their aims.

There was recognition of the difficulty faced by labour education institutions catering to trade union students with many national, ethnic and language backgrounds and it was suggested that studies be undertaken to identify ways of meeting this problem.

Greater recognition of the many possibilities that lie within the universities for instructor training was also emphasised.

The special needs of potential teachers in workers' education were unanimously stressed; the needs may not all be met by utilisation of only adult education aims and practices. For much of the workers' training and education programme, the job is to make use of the trade unionists' experience and practice within a framework of elementary pedagogy.

Teaching materials in adequate supply will greatly assist the teacher in his work.

In countries whose industrial system and trade union development are at an early stage, the need for much flexibility in selection, training and utilisation of teachers was recognised.

The potential for more teachers in workers' education from this source was growing, as teachers' organisations became more aware of their kinship and bonds of solidarity with union members in the industrial, commercial, public and government sectors: a fringe benefit here was the part teachers might play in improving the educational systems, textbooks, etc.

A relatively untapped source for teachers for workers' education is the teachers' union. Members of such unions, committed to the movement and with pedagogic backgrounds, should be sought to fill the great gaps in teaching ranks.

Trade unions should assume larger responsibilities for the training of trade union instructors.

Governments were in a position to make available to workers' education bodies instructors to teach in certain specialised areas such as co-operatives.

A concerted attempt should be made to encourage graduates of labour colleges and similar institutions to become teachers in workers' education programmes.

It was also suggested that the possibility of help in overcoming the shortage of teachers should be explored with international organisations of the teaching profession.

A major aim of workers' education programmes should be to train people to give direct service to the trade union. Where possible, trade unions should provide adequate opportunity for this service. Several participants considered that in some countries it might be necessary to create financially and intellectually satisfying opportunities within the trade union movement. Also important is the nature of the programme and its ability to develop greater commitment on the part of the student. Many worker students find ways to give valuable service to the whole labour movement in educational and other roles at many levels, thus strengthening the influence of the trade unions in society.

Courses and Content

Course suggestions indicated trade union concern with the entire gamut of issues and problems, including social, economic, ideological and personal behaviour. With reference to ideology, the aim should be to provide training which opens up an entire range of choices rather than to promote any particular one.

Course content should embrace practical and theoretical aspects at all levels (regional, national and international), when treating topics of interest or concern to trade unionists.

Courses should emphasise the part the union member can and should play in his union and in the larger community around him since trade unionists, along with others, are agents of change. Therefore a major aim of the training courses is to develop not only the trade unionist's confidence in himself but in his union - so as to better meet both the internal and external problems of the unions.

A factor which militated against the admittance of regular students to workers' education classes was the fact that many courses are specially designed for trade unions, even particular groups within the larger body, and no benefit, mutual or otherwise, would accrue.

It was considered that in courses of broad and general interest, and especially those open to all, the interchanges between trade unionists and regular students would be mutually advantageous. The only concern expressed was in connection with the content of the courses and its relation to the purposes to be achieved.

Trade union members should be encouraged to take advantage of arrangements whereby they may go on to further studies without having the necessary formal academic requirements. The influence of trade unionists on non-union students would be beneficial for the movement.

The merits and disadvantages of residential long-term and short-term courses; of linked periods, e.g. weekends or two-month terms, were discussed. To maintain the momentum engendered at residential courses, follow-up procedures with the students were considered essential, even if only subsequent weekend sessions or contact by correspondence. Cultural activities were considered essential to a well-rounded residential programme.

It was also stressed that residential courses are most effective when various methods are integrated into the teaching approach. In some countries residential courses include programmes developed on the basis of full consultation amongst the specialists concerned, on economics, sociology, social psychology, labour law, and the history of the trade union movement. The effectiveness of residential courses would depend on provision to the students beforehand of relevant documentation and correspondence courses.

Some participants urged that trade unions should not be too restrictive as regards the nature of the course content of university worker education programmes. It was agreed that although the relations between trade unions and universities imply mutual respect for the interests and good will of each party, course content should be determined by the needs of the workers. At the same time it is important that the teaching methodology be appropriately adapted to these needs which are the basis for programme determination. In all cases, programme content should be problem-oriented and treated in a multi-disciplinary manner, without fragmentation into traditional academic disciplines.

All post-secondary education, be it university or other, can be related to workers' education. Because of the rapid and new global developments taking place, the needs in workers' education should be under constant review. Issues such as those of new technology, world-wide inflation, the prices of primary commodities and other issues of international trade, the energy crisis and so on are today matters of basic concern to workers all over the world and should be jointly examined at the international trade union level.

Considering some workers are weak in some disciplines such as mathematics, statistics, accountancy and others, the Symposium suggested that post-secondary educational institutions or university extra-mural departments organise programmes or provide tutorial help along these lines so that they can enter into regular university programmes which require this knowledge. Special programmes may be necessary to acquaint trade unionists with balance sheets and other financial statements which are often presented to them in negotiations or other union activities.

In cases where the teaching staff of the university extra-mural departments or institutes is not sufficient to cover all teaching aspects of the workers' education programme other university teachers could be called upon while ensuring that they are involved in programme planning as well as implementation.

Taking into account the workers' role in society, there is a need for the widest possible training of workers through an interdisciplinary approach to workers' education. In this respect, and particularly with regard to developing countries, it was recommended that the Symposium adopt concrete conclusions which relate to creating awareness of the universities' role in more actively contributing to the development of workers' education programmes.

With regard to course content, it was considered essential that it include material which helps promote a better understanding of trade unionism, improve skills in trade union affairs and contribute to a fuller development of the trade unionist both in his family and societal contexts. Therefore from a general point of view, workers' education programmes should be able to provide courses not only on basic and specialised subjects but also courses aimed at improving teaching and communication skills.

These latter courses are especially important in view of the fact that teaching and communications skills are indispensable tools for instructor training. Moreover, in view of the lack of qualified trade union instructors the possibility of using educational techniques based on modular systems was suggested. This would permit a more rapid and effective training of instructors. In any event, in university courses which prove inadaptable to workers' needs, the search for innovating educational methods and approaches is imperative.

It was recognised that evaluation during and at the end of the course was not sufficient and that evaluation should be carried out some time after the completion of the course.

The discussion on the importance of residential courses led the Symposium to recall the Recommendation with regard to the setting up of workers' education service centres in different parts of the world made at the Meeting of ILO Consultants on Workers' Education held in Geneva in May 1971.

Methods and Techniques

The nature of workers participating in educational programmes determines the methods and techniques to be used. Their strength lies in practical experience, oral expression, motivation for self-improvement and collective promotion; their weaknesses in written expression, technical skills and heterogeneous backgrounds. Consequently, the best teaching methods and techniques to be used would comprise small group discussion, individual tutorial methods, instruction in technical skills (particularly in mathematics, statistics, accounting), exercises writing summaries, analysis and critique of texts, as well as elementary research work based on field observations and case studies of events in trade union life - all of these promote a learning interaction between instructors and trainees and both the individual and collective participation of the workers.

Moreover, new audio-visual learning techniques should be incorporated into traditional academic approaches to teaching. In developing countries account should be taken of possibilities existing for obtaining material which appropriately meet the country's own needs and avoid arbitrary imitations. Because of the heterogeneity of the educational levels of trade unionists there is a need to promote self-education processes which does not, of course, exclude possibilities for lectures provided they are based on appropriate outlines and followed by discussion.

The university should organise seminars which focus on the analysis of case studies and programme content, it should also publish orientation texts on methods and techniques, develop teaching systems based on the use of video tapes and video cassettes and carry out research relating to other methods and techniques of workers' education.

Where advanced educational techniques are employed it should be recalled that such methods including closed-circuit television are complementary to and no substitute for the teacher. The use of video cassettes may achieve effects comparable to the combined impact of books and television, and is therefore worth exploring.

Traditional educational prejudices should be overcome so as to establish and strengthen closer communication between trade unions and universities. In this connection it was suggested that universities help in promoting the ability of trade unions to actively carry out research by providing tutors, organising seminars for training trade union researchers, and fomenting the research and publications activity of the teaching staff of university extension departments.

The choice of educational methodology depends not only on techniques developed in relation to the teaching experience itself, but also on their appropriateness to the goals to be met. In developing countries the development of an appropriate educational methodology is all the more urgent because educational activities are located in a social and economic framework in which education provides workers with the tools with which they can critically evaluate their particular problems in the contemporary social context. Therefore, the methodology employed should be especially apt to meet the educational needs of workers and all modern teaching resources should be utilised to ensure its fullest use.

Research and Documentation

University documentation centres should be established to house needed material, and staff training courses on all pertinent aspects of university research and trade union documentation questions should be carried out. In some countries activities are already under way along these lines such as those residential centres which have teaching laboratories devoted to questions of labour policy, economics, labour law, environment problems and audio-visual methods and techniques.

It was suggested that universities and trade unions undertake joint research activities. With reference to research and documentation methods and techniques, the participants took note of experiences already under way in some labour institutes, and endorsed the need to identify methods and goals. In conformity with the criteria applied in such institutes, what is characteristic of workers' education is that it distinguishes between the personal and collective dimensions of educational activities. Moreover self-education can be an essential ingredient for higher levels of workers' training as the educational goals to be attained require the kinds of educational preparation which sharpen the trainees' creative abilities.

The participants agreed that to be effective a documentation service should have a well-qualified permanent staff and house a wide range of information material including trade union documentation proper, non-trade union publications and other material relevant to all aspects of labour questions and to all categories of workers.

Research is essential if the scope of workers' education is to be broadened. It contributes to a better understanding of the world of labour and to the efficiency of labour education centres and their teaching staff. The teaching and research programmes in which trade union and university staff participate require a conscious and realistic planning effort as well as an awareness of the levels of trade union training to be imparted. In all cases both objective social needs and the value of experience should be taken into account.

In addition to these above-mentioned considerations, the Symposium recognised that the existing problems relating to implementation of education systems only serve to more fully confirm the need to promote all aspects of workers' education. In this connection it was suggested that descriptive micro-studies of workers' education experiences be undertaken and that workers' education institutions and centres, particularly those carrying out activities at the international level, increase the volume of their periodic publications. It is important to furnish descriptive documentation on the structured learning situation, both from the point of view of the trainer and the trainees.

The Role of the ILO

The participants conceived the role of the ILO in this field as essentially that of a catalyst in bringing together trade unions and labour educators on the one hand and the universities and similar institutions on the other hand, in joint efforts to further workers' education, based on the necessary conditions of mutual confidence, autonomy and respect.

This should be done largely through the ILO's Workers' Education Programme, subject to its principles and practices safeguarding the interests of workers and their organisations. On that basis, the ILO should seek, where appropriate, the collaboration of other interested organisations, such as UNESCO, the International Association of Universities and other relevant institutions at the international and regional levels, as well as that of national institutions of higher and post-secondary education. It should also endeavour to mobilise international resources, whether multinational or bilateral, which might be channelled towards innovative schemes of collaboration between trade unions and the universities.

The participants made the following suggestions for possible ILO action within a period of six years and to take place at an appropriate time, taking into account resources to be available within each calendar year, whether through the ILO's regular budget or through extra-budgetary sources.

(1) Documentation and Applied Research

The ILO should compile and distribute a World Directory of Workers' Education Services, so that both trade union educators and university persons concerned could be fully aware of existing facilities and services in different parts of the world.

On the basis of the report of this Symposium, completed by views and comments solicited by a questionnaire from national and international trade union centres as well as from universities having workers' education programmes, the ILO should publish a booklet on the principles and guidelines of union-university collaboration in the field of workers' education.

Also on the basis of the working papers of this Symposium and as a follow-up to the ILO research project on the role of universities in workers' education, the ILO should continue this study on a global basis for publication in whole or in part, in a separate series or within the framework of the "Labour Education" bulletin.

Consideration should be given to the establishment of a central clearing house of teaching materials used in union-university workers' education programmes, possibly on the model of the Educational Materials Exchange Service of the International Institute of Labour Studies or in association with it. At some later stage, regional documentation exchanges, particularly in languages used in a particular region, should be established.

The ILO should (both the university staff and the unionists involved) encourage labour educators in union-university programmes to undertake applied research in this field; for example:

(i) research and preparation of case studies designed specifically for use in workers' education programmes for various groups of workers from different industries, countries or regions;

(ii) descriptive and scientific micro-studies of how workers learn under particular circumstances;

(iii) research leading to preparation of "modules" of specific labour subjects, suitable for inclusion in teaching kits in different parts of the world;

(iv) research and dissemination of the experience acquired over a considerable period of time and on a large scale by certain countries providing higher education for workers.

Means should also be found (e.g. through fellowships geared to university sabbatical leaves) to encourage a small number of prominent authorities in the field of social sciences to prepare for workers' education purposes popular versions of their work. Workers are entitled to the best that social scientists can offer.

As a contribution to the democratisation of higher education, the ILO should initiate a study of the workers' efforts to obtain external university degrees. This would encourage trade unionists who have time mainly for home study, to benefit from local-based tutors combined with correspondence courses and periodical campus reviews, leading eventually to the external degree.

The ILO, in collaboration with UNESCO, should encourage or initiate studies of how workers' education may fit into formal educational systems. This might follow up the ILO Symposium on Educational Reform, scheduled to be convened in 1974-75 for trade union leaders and labour educators. The ILO should explore the possibility of promoting workers' education with the World University set up by the UN.

As a part of the ILO research project on evaluation in workers' education, envisaged in the biennium 1974-75, a study should be made of evaluation methods in union-university programmes, particularly as to evaluation criteria on the achievement of the different objectives of the union, the university department or institute concerned and those of the individual teachers and participants involved.

Consideration should be given to making appropriate arrangements between the ILO and the International Institute for Labour Studies so that more research facilities available at the Institute should be devoted to some of the measures suggested above.

Promotion of University Interest in Workers' Education

As a follow up to the present Symposium which is attended by university and union educators only, the ILO should convene as soon as possible a conference of selected university presidents, vice-chancellors or rectors to meet with top trade union leaders. This conference should be assisted by a group of participants with responsibilities similar to those of the participants at the present Symposium, either in universities or unions.

Consideration might also be given to regional follow up of this Symposium, either in relation to such groupings as the European Economic Community or the regions of Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America and the Middle East. Efforts such as the First Central American Seminar on Universities and Workers' Education, organised by the Central American Council of Universities in co-operation with the ILO, should be encouraged. These regional seminars should have as a central aim to acquaint universities with the educational needs of workers and their organisations, as a prior step to the organisation of joint union-university programmes in this field.

Promotion of Union Interest in Universities

The ILO should encourage, through its regular activities under the Workers' Education Programme, trade unions to examine how to develop their own educational activities so they can lead more readily to union-university collaboration.

Also as a part of its on-going activities in helping unions to train their educational and research personnel, the ILO should introduce unions to the facilities available at appropriate university institutions for training and retraining such personnel.

Inter-University and Inter-Union Co-operation

When one or more unions and one or more universities have established contacts and agreed on a common approach, they may initiate a joint request to the ILO for technical co-operation, serving as a basis for tapping multinational or bilateral, public or private, sources of financing.

The ILO should continue its exploration in the area of paid educational leave as a means of financing university-union collaboration. At the same time the ILO should expand their exploration to other collective arrangements such as those indicated in paragraph 51.

Priority should be given to ILO technical advice and assistance to establish or include specific workers' educational schemes of collaboration between universities and unions in a single developing country and to encourage inter-university and inter-union co-operation in this respect in two or more countries, particularly between developed and developing countries.

In establishing regional training projects and ILO workers' education service centres, as recommended by the ILO Panel of Consultants on Workers' Education (Geneva, 1971) maximum use should be made of existing university facilities. Consideration should be given to encouraging universities to develop grass-root level training models for workers.

In view of its multiplying effect, special importance should be attached to schemes of training of trainers, tutors, monitors, instructors and similar personnel engaged in union-university programmes.

Consideration should be given to convening ILO regional seminars on the use of educational technology in union-university programmes, with special reference to the developing countries, along similar lines as regional seminars sponsored by the ILO and other bodies on the use of radio and television.

As a means of institutionalising co-operation on a continuous basis, the ILO should foster the establishment of an International Association of University Workers' Education. This could serve as a centre for university and union educators to create links with other professional associations in adult education and life-long learning, at present existing at the regional and international levels.

Appendix I

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS, OBSERVERS AND ILO SECRETARIAT

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Appendix II

FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT ON THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN WORKERS' EDUCATION

Introduction

This study is the result of work carried out during the period 1969-70 within the framework of a research project on the role of universities in workers' education undertaken by the Workers' Education Branch of the Social Institutions Development Department of the ILO.[1]

The purpose of the project was to identify the needs which university collaboration can help satisfy in the field of workers' education; to analyse the forms that can be taken by this collaboration between the unions and the universities, so as to equip the Office to advise universities and trade union organisations and to help them to set up or develop training programmes.

An introductory note and a questionnaire addressed to trade union organisations and universities concerned with workers' education provided for replies from various parts of the world.[2] The information contained in these replies together with the data collected in the course of missions to the Federal Republic of Germany, Jamaica, Poland, United States, USSR and Yugoslavia are analysed in the present study which was originally conceived as an ILO internal document. In view of its interest to the participants in the Symposium on the role of universities in workers' education, that document is now submitted to them for information and comments.

SECTION I. THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE SURVEY

Stress on Qualitative Elements and Trends Rather Than on a Quantitative Approach

While the statistics obtained give some idea of the size of each university's programme, the type of activity varies so much that it is very difficult to find a basis for comparisons. An institute or centre catering for a relatively small number of participants may provide substantial full-time courses and be more effective than another with a larger attendance list but giving only one or two evening classes a week over a period of ten weeks or less. One would also have to be able to compare the number of registrations with the number of actual participants, to know the percentage of dropouts and to have at least some idea of the regularity of attendance - all of which are rarely available in statistically usable form. Also lacking are adequate series of data on the age, sex, skill level, occupation, region, educational attainments, family situation and wages of workers receiving instruction in university centres; even if a centre is equipped to maintain such data, it would have to be able to make them public without creating internal problems and this is rarely the case. While the information given on financial and staff resources is less liable to inaccuracies, it is generally presented in a way which does not clearly show how far these resources are specifically for workers' education, as distinct from other university activities. All these problems arise even for countries where the statistics provided are not simply invented for the occasion. They do not mean that quantitative studies are without value and should never be attempted, but simply that statistics must be treated cautiously and only accepted after proper checking and cross-checking.

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[1] The Office was fortunate in obtaining the collaboration in this project of Mr. Marcel David, Professor of the University of Paris: Panthéon - Sorbonne - Sceaux, and member of the ILO Panel of Consultants on Workers' Education.

[2] WED/RES.1/D.1.D.5

On the other hand, the usefulness of studying trends has turned out to be much greater than seemed likely at the outset even more than study of qualitative elements. There are already indications that as soon as a university initiates a workers' education programme at the instigation of some of its members these activities will as a result of internal dynamics become the cornerstone or main thrust of its work in the field of permanent education, in association with those of its constituent units which logically have an interest and a role in such education.

Moreover, the results of this trend already suggest that, in the countries where universities are doing most for workers' education, there will have to be adaptation to change in this field as in others by reorienting activities to meet the new needs of the trade unions and by broadening or shifting the main emphasis. A time may even come when the university will find that it no longer has any specific role to play in workers' education. If so, will it not be wiser for it to hand over to those whom it has helped to qualify for the task? This will not necessarily mean that there will be no further scope for co-operating with the workers' organisations in scientific study of the new problems arising in any educational system in the post-industrial society. One does not have to be a genius to see that education, information and research will become a single whole.

Similarities and Differences in Workers' Education Programmes

Among the factors leading to similarities between countries, there is no doubt that a country's level of development is one of the most important. It is so important in fact that the whole question in developing countries has had to be treated separately. Nevertheless, the economic background - even if one equates it with an infrastructure - is by no means the only determining factor. If there is any field in which government policy, trade union choices, historical links between countries, cultural traits and the subjective voluntarism of university staffs can override determinism, it is the field with which we are here concerned. We are not surprised therefore to find clear similarities between Jamaica and Britain, and between Senegal and France.

As a result, the problems do not appear in the same light in all the developing countries. The specific features of the civilisations of the African, Latin American and Asian continents are sufficiently deep-rooted to produce clear differences in their solutions. There are also great variations within each continent depending on their earlier links: for example, the different approaches adopted in workers' education in Kenya and Senegal partly reflect differences between the British and French systems.

Despite this strong influence of superstructures, the economic system is a further essential factor in differentiation. Nevertheless, the fuller and better knowledge obtained from the USSR has thrown a new light on the divergencies between centrally planned and other economic systems, though without making them seem any smaller. By and large, the practice of regarding all educational activities directed to workers as workers' education was typical only of the 1930s and 1940s. Earlier - apart from some temporary shifts - this had not been so and since that period less and less emphasis has been placed in the USSR on education activities as such, since the universities and schools have provided instruction of a strictly technical and vocational character for any worker wishing for individual advancement. A clear sign of this is to be found in the extent to which the "preparatory sections" of the university faculties indicate a return, in the conditions of the 1970s, to the old idea of the "rabfaks".[1] While in the USSR large resources continue to be allocated to adult vocational education, the present trend is to give more help to the mass organisations by providing outstanding young workers with a type of general education which they are expected to use, even at the highest level, in promoting access of an increasing proportion of workers in industry and agriculture to secondary and higher education. One can see that this represents an effort to raise the over-all educational level within the framework of Socialist construction.

In the market economy countries there are some indications of a contrary trend. Here the tradition was to make a clear distinction between adult education and workers' education. However, there are now some specialists who believe that any type of adult education embracing the workers fulfils the essential aim that can reasonably be attributed to workers' education in an emerging post-industrial society.

Among the centralised economies there are differences in the way in which the universities perform their workers' education functions. Quite apart from the special features of China and Cuba there is the difference between the Soviet system and that in Yugoslavia where separate workers' universities operate alongside the regular universities, and the self-management system calls for a combined type of education at all levels. However, it seems that the contrast between the two countries may be becoming less marked as Yugoslavia re-emphasises technical and vocational training for adults, while the USSR aims to educate the "all-round man" by opening up multidisciplinary studies for the workers. Moreover, there are marked differences between what is being done in the USSR and in Poland for example.

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[1] Rabochy fakultet (a type of education preparing for university entrance).

Nor do the Western countries strike one by similarities of approach. It is customary to treat these in three groups, i.e. the English-speaking and Nordic countries in one group, the Latin countries in another and the Germanic countries in a third. Yet in matters of workers' education there are no greater differences between France and the United States than between the latter and Britain; while the great changes in the German concept of the role of a university teacher and the influence of other countries on Germany are weakening the reasons for putting this country in a separate group. But if for a moment one broadens the comparison to include the centrally planned countries, one finds a degree of similarity in the weight given to adult education and to workers' education in Britain and the Nordic countries on the one hand and in the USSR on the other.

Proposed Working Definition of "Workers' Education"

The minor corrections of the original typology that have been indicated above may help in reconsidering the working definitions of "university" and "workers' education" proposed in the introductory note for the survey.

The proposed definition of "university" gave rise to little or no comment. It received little attention from those replying to the questionnaire who probably accepting the equating of "university" with the higher education system. The fact that the introductory note seemed to underestimate the university's role in research shocked practically no one. The emphasis on permanent education, as being equal in importance to all other activities together, does not seem to have been felt to be exaggerated - as it would certainly have done with a circle of respondents less committed to adult education and more liable to a condescending scepticism and a firm desire to prevent the university from venturing off the beaten track.

On the other hand, the frank criticism of the definition of "workers' education" showed that respondents felt that such a re-examination was fully justified at this time. A first group openly hoped that the term would be abandoned, as a source of confused thinking. Having regard to the role of a university, they proposed that the term should be replaced by "trade union education", thereby showing that it was not limited to wage earners but covered all trade union members and that it was closely linked with the trade union movement. While the second argument in favour of the change seems a valid one, the first of the two arguments seems doubtful both in terms of semantics and of the role of the university since this is the context in which our respondents proposed their new expression. The fact that "workers' education" makes one think first of manual workers does not mean, in the way in which words are commonly used, that it excludes other categories of employees. No one thinks, when speaking of the workers' movement or the central workers' organisation, that these expressions only cover skilled or unskilled operatives. In the same way "workers' education" can cover office and shop workers, minor civil servants, technicians and all non-managerial staff in industry and commerce, as well as production workers. Moreover, the type of education offered by the university can be carried out in co-operation and full agreement with the trade unions without becoming identical with the education provided by the unions themselves. To treat the two as interchangeable would simply mean abandoning the idea that the university has a specific contribution to make.

The British trade unionists rightly make a distinction between trade union education and non-vocational adult education. True, they stress interdependence between the two forms since both are directed to the workers. They even agree that the universities and the Workers' Education Association should have a hand in trade union education in accordance with the current version of the old concept of a liberal education. All the same, they basically regard the work of the university as adult education or workers' education, while retaining trade union education as an integral part of their own educational work.

Other respondents, while continuing to use the term "workers' education" propose that it should be regarded as identical with adult or permanent education in so far as workers are concerned. This seems to be a wish-fulfilling extrapolation from a localised situation, which would mean abandoning the aim of collective advancement (as separate from the advancement of individuals) and rashly severing the bond between workers' education and the trade union movement. It also seems illusory to suppose that the trade union movement as a whole would welcome an "aggi-ornamento" in which the specific character of workers' education as well as the specific role of the university would disappear.

It seems wiser then to retain the term "workers' education" while making clear that it may be open also to unorganised workers where the whole or part of the education is directly or indirectly provided at the suggestion and under the aegis of the trade unions. This would yield the following revised definition of "workers' education" as "all educational activities relating to workers associated in any way with the labour movement or agreeing to receive instruction under the aegis of the representative labour organisations, and undertaken with a view to promoting the collective advancement of labour while contributing to the personal development of all those able to participate in them".

Testing of the Hypotheses and Unexpected Results

Among those which turned out to be correct the following may be mentioned: (a) the marginality of workers' education work in relation to what are normally regarded as the central functions of university staffs; (b) the desirability of creating a functional unit with a certain degree of autonomy in any university seeking to meet workers' education needs properly; (c) the need to use adult teaching methods that are quite different from the traditional methods; (d) the need for the university to maintain its standard of objectivity without destroying workers' concern with collective action; (e) a tendency for the content of courses to lose its "closed" functional character in favour of a functional character that is open to "new problems" or even to questioning of the established system; (f) persistence of the current of thought in favour of absorbing workers' education in adult education.

Another group of hypotheses turned out to be not incorrect but too one-sided to cover the complex realities. These included two which seemed from the beginning to be key hypotheses for all the others, i.e. that the university contribution in workers' education would be higher-level instruction and that there would be a model which all universities would follow more or less in coping with the particular problems of workers' education. The doubts now felt concerning this second hypothesis are not of course unconnected with the need to abandon an earlier idea that there was a tendency everywhere for all teaching and research in the field of labour studies, including workers' education, to be brought together under a single organisational unit.

Certain conclusions remain to be mentioned which followed from observation of actual conditions, without being associated with the testing of any hypothesis. The list might be long but only the four most striking and unexpected ones will be mentioned here.

Regardless of whether they are able or unable to provide a workers' education programme covering all levels from the elementary to the higher education level, the universities regard their task as subsidiary or complementary to the education given by the trade unions themselves.

By moving in the direction of an "open" functional content in their courses (i.e. towards a curriculum of "labour studies"), the universities are contributing to improving the status of these disciplines and reaching standards of attainment which, even if they are not identical with those for the regular subjects, fully warrant university teaching and are recognised as higher-level studies.

With the changing social and occupational composition of the working class, the broadening of trade union responsibilities, the emergence of a collective approach to individual advancement, the growing realisation by workers of their need for better understanding of the society in which they live and their increased opportunities for acquiring this, the potential recruitment area for workers' education is widening to include unorganised workers - or at least those willing to follow in the wake of what workers' education basically is and intends to remain.

Finally there is a more unexpected result which relates to medium and long-term prospects. This must be noted with caution since, if it is treated as a certainty when it is in fact only a possibility, well-intentioned people may be discouraged. It foresees the time when the university has done all that is expected of it and must reconsider its programme of activities. Various outcomes must be envisaged, e.g. agonising reappraisal, reaching a stage of "second wind", continuation along current lines with some minor adjustments. For the present, the universities which are doing the most are more sensibly concerned with moving ahead in such a way that their programmes meet existing needs without going beyond a saturation point that may in time shift but will never disappear, since their programmes are complementary to those of the trade unions.

SECTION II. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMMES

The subject of "universities and workers' education" chosen for the survey may have surprised those who think that the only subject worth studying is a broader one, i.e. "high-level" workers' education provided for and by "voluntary workers' organisations". In this view, the problem is not the university as an organisation but the participation of university teachers in trade union staff schools. It would certainly be of great interest to study these schools, and it is very probable that the utilisation of university teachers in them raises some problems as well as solving others; nevertheless, the number of such schools providing higher-level instruction is not yet very great.

A full picture of upper-level workers' education could not be given by concentrating on the trade union schools and leaving aside the universities. Moreover, the case for the universities cannot so easily be dismissed, especially in regard to workers' education, since they cannot be separated from the extra-mural or semi-university bodies. It is not correct to equate the universities with advanced studies since workers' education is in fact provided both extra-murally and on university campuses.

This being so, there are two questions to be answered. First, what (if anything) is specific to their workers' education activities? And, second, where these activities are in the nature of training rather than education proper, do the universities feel that they are performing their normal function and one for which they are best fitted?

Origin of Programmes

In the majority of cases the programmes seem to have resulted from a pioneer teacher taking the risk of submitting a project to his university for approval. Naturally, before doing so, he will have tried to improve his chances - assuming that his status ensures sufficient freedom of action - by securing the active support of the rector or dean. He will also have formed a team of competent collaborators who are keen on the work and share his view of the aims of the venture.

It can safely be said that a desire to contribute to workers' education will be one of the aims in all cases, but that any other aims there may be will greatly depend on the structures of the global society and on the varying attitudes of management and labour in different countries. For example, the objective in some cases is to help unionists to clarify their own aims, which involves questioning the established order of things; in others, the objective is to promote harmony and co-operation between management and labour so as to increase the unity and welfare of the nation, which involves integration in the existing system.

The fact that a university has to be urged by one of its members before starting a workers' education programme is not unexpected. It is however surprising that - after giving the green light, obtaining official authorisation and assigning what may be substantial staff and other resources - a university should take no real interest in the work and take it for granted that the programme should be a marginal affair, small enough to provoke no comment and to arouse no strong feelings.

Marginal Character of Workers' Education in the Universities

There are many reasons for this underestimation of the importance of workers' education in any modern education system, including higher-level education. The first that comes to mind reflects the difficulty that many universities have in taking seriously any form of permanent education - and is not workers' education essentially one of these? A further reason, which arises where adult education departments have existed for a long time and are satisfied with their extra-mural character, is the feeling that workers' education can at best only be a branch of adult education, so that it is a matter for the extension departments to decide on the size of the workers' education programme - however small it is, the university as such will not be shocked.

A third reason concerns the content of workers' education, where this goes beyond the traditional area of "liberal education" and covers "labour studies" or at least industrial relations. In such cases, there are an increasing number of university teachers who object that these types of study are not a genuine branch of the social sciences. The field of labour, even if it is seen as an area for multidisciplinary study at the different levels of interaction, does not seem to them a sufficiently precise subject upon which to base a self-contained educational institution; they think it better to leave teaching in labour studies and industrial relations to the business schools which take the enterprise as their main focus. It must be admitted that in the Western countries these university teachers - coming from the ranks of the economists, lawyers and sociologists - greatly outnumber those of their colleagues who struggle on to obtain recognition both for labour studies and for workers' education. This being so, it is not surprising that the university sides with the prevailing opinion.

The last reason is not one that arises from within the university but from the reactions of interested bodies to initiatives taken on behalf of the university, i.e. the reactions of the trade unions, the State or the employers. These reactions are not always very encouraging and may show lack of understanding. It is not surprising in such cases that the university should hesitate to proceed too rapidly along a path full of pitfalls. But is it quite certain that the negative reactions outweigh the positive ones? True, criticism or absence of comment is more widespread than praise among the employers; but the opposite is the case as regards the State and (even more) the trade unions.

Trade Union Attitudes

As is well known, the trade unions start out with a strong feeling of distrust towards the university, which reflects a widespread feeling among the workers; they are, at the very least, biased against it. They criticise the universities for living in an "ivory castle" and providing over-sophisticated teaching based on an outdated conception of a liberal education that is useless to active unionists; or else of being sympathetic to management and satisfied with the spread of middle-class attitudes even though this is not suited to all higher education needs. The unions' reservations do not automatically disappear as soon as a university is willing to undertake a workers' education programme; the university must not only avoid any trace of paternalism, but also steer clear of the error of many intellectuals who consider that their identification with the working class gives them the right to tell it what to do.

There is no reason therefore to be shocked if the trade unions doggedly discuss every point in an offer by a university to collaborate in the field of workers' education. As soon as they are sure of being associated with the running of the programme and able to prevent the university staff from confusing the minds of trade unionists on the pretext of scientific objectivity, their attitude will change. Once their confidence has been won, they can be counted on to treat the university with respect, even in these days of widespread confrontation. The unions' support for a university workers' education programme and their confidence in the programme organisers are co-extensive with the services which they expect from it, since they know that they cannot meet all their own education and research needs. The university can help them greatly, both intellectually and materially. Those members of the universities who conclude, from a setback in a project, that there will be no common ground for discussion between the university and the unions, are greatly mistaken. They should learn from their mistakes and do what is needed to achieve such positive results as are possible for their university.

Attitude of the State

The attitude of the State varies with the level of economic development, the extent to which the universities have a tradition of independence, and the resources available to the trade unions. In countries where there is no real trade union movement, there have been and still are cases where the State is the prime mover. In such cases it rarely starts out by asking for university support, which would be unlikely to be forthcoming. It prefers to rely on a board in which the university is invited to participate on the same footing as numerous other interests; if conditions change later on, the two sides can decide what should be done.

In countries where the industrialisation process is complete, there are two patterns. If the State sees that co-operation agreements between unions and universities are functioning well without its intervention, it may simply offer its mediation if ever this is needed. But as the unions are wealthy enough to pay their members' expenses and the universities have adequate resources for operating their programmes, there is little likelihood of the State being involved, apart perhaps from the Ministry of Education where the university is a public institution and needs to have its certificates countersigned.

On the other hand, in countries where the unions are divided and financially unable to develop their own programmes at the requisite pace, the universities are rarely able to bear the whole cost of what they wish to contribute to workers' education. They then turn to the State, pointing out that workers' education is now a full-fledged branch of the national education system and should receive state aid in the same way as the other branches. But they point out at the same time that - in this field even more than in others, since the unions are involved - state aid must involve no restrictions on the university's independence. Strangely enough, a number of governments have been sympathetic to this argument. They have no doubt felt that, even without any controls beyond a financial check after the event, the allocation of public funds to workers' education, especially within a university framework, is not incompatible with the aims of their social and educational policy.

Attitudes of Employers

It may be asked whether management has had any hand in the launching and subsequent development of university workers' education programmes. The answer is in the negative for many countries, especially the Latin countries where the general feeling is that any such intervention is the best way of ensuring the failure of a project. A workers' education programme is pre-eminently an instrument of collective advancement; it has as much right to operate free of direct or indirect management influence, as an employer is entitled to have a say in vocational training and individual advancement. The university must realise that the unions' confidence in its independence depends on the absence of employer representatives on the body running the workers' education programme.

It should not feel insulted because of this, since some of the trade unionists arguing with it have learnt to appreciate university objectivity outside their own schools. Quite a number of managements feel bound to do what they can, from the outside, to help workers' education schemes to run smoothly, i.e. by granting leave to enable unionists to follow university programmes even where this is not prescribed by law, and by not objecting to the use by works committees of part of their resources to make good any wages lost by workers attending courses.

Employers are indeed rewarded for this in some countries through the fact that trade unions accustomed to co-operation with the universities may press the latter to finance day-release training through the extension departments. Some of these courses are held in the undertakings and include management personnel as well as manual workers.

This ties up with the attitude which managements had to adopt from the outset in the countries where the concept of industrial relations is not one in which the trade unions feel bound to insist on workers' education being exclusively under their control. Here the employers have favoured training of trade unionists through the universities, on condition that management personnel can use the same facilities. This is the position in most of the labour institutes in the United States and in a number of other countries.

The rather unexpected result has been that after a few years the employers became less keen to enter their personnel management staff for labour institute courses. One should add that, in the interval, the business schools had begun to offer an alternative which was much more attractive because of its more orthodox approach. This attitude naturally tends towards a position where - without necessarily abandoning the appearance of organisational unity - programmes proceed independently of each other except for occasional and inevitably superficial contracts. One may wonder whether, despite the structural and ideological differences, this situation is very different from that of workers' education in the Latin countries.

Other Potential Supporters

To complete the list of individuals or groups that could support the university in its workers' education activities, there are two categories to be considered. The first comprises specialists in labour questions as well as engineers and research workers, whose interests are closer to those of labour as a result of definite objective factors, and who should be able - within a university programme enjoying the confidence of the labour movement - to help workers to learn what they need to know about management mentality and techniques. Experience shows that the countries having most inclination and reasons for following this path are the developing countries.

The other category consists of those advocates of organisational techniques who are scornful of workers' education and offer to take over the task under the umbrella of a system of permanent education designed to facilitate adaptation to change within the existing framework.

SECTION III. SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTION AND PURPOSE OF THE UNIVERSITY PROGRAMMES

North America

The labour unions rely on the universities for the basic training of their active members in the practices of industrial relations, which both sides of industry regard as neutral since the aim is to create and maintain a spirit of co-operation and fair play in labour-management dealings. The provision of basic and middle-level instruction is for the present by way of being the specific contribution.

To leave the matter there would simply be pointing to a factual situation with which those involved are already dissatisfied. They feel stuck in a routine and that workers are being given a type of instruction which, though practically useful in the short term, lacks the wider perspective for full personal development that a truly democratic society needs as its common denominator. Hence they think that the time has come for radical rethinking. Two directions for this have been suggested. One is "educational development", but many consider that this remedy would be worse than the disease. Hence, those university teachers who are most sensitive to trade union needs and to the vocation of the university recommend a second direction, i.e. "labour studies". Apart from the fact that it would allow the "new problems" of the emerging post-industrial society to be included in the courses, this approach would provide a greater range of levels for workers' education, up to and including the highest. Without forcing the university authorities to reduce their programmes for rank-and-file unionists and leaving them free to reserve a place for teaching methods based on group dynamics, the labour studies approach would open up a vast area based on group dynamics, the labour studies approach would open up a vast area of new educational possibilities, including some which would offer active trade unionists a genuine higher education, with everything needed to place it on an equal footing with any other university discipline. In terms of specific contribution, labour studies offer the universities the prospect of reordering all their workers' education programmes in a more real and harmonious way within a coherent system.

France and Federal Republic of Germany

In France and in Federal Germany the specific contribution of the university to workers' education is the high level of studies. In the latter country, owing to the strength and resources of the central workers' organisation (DGB), higher-level workers' education may mean something that is not different in nature from the concept of higher-level studies in the universities. The standard is a full-time course varying from one to three years in the different labour academies, and open to trade unionists selected in relation both to their union responsibilities and to their previous educational attainments in the schools of the DGB or in the secondary schools. It is the custom to issue a diploma at the end of the course and students not sent by the DGB are also admitted; there is thus a risk that the diplomas may one day be coveted because of their equivalence to an ordinary degree and that some trade union participants may be tempted not to bother about their further career in the trade union.

In France, the period of study is shorter. After three ten-week courses had been held for "worker experts", this pattern, though it meets a need admitted by all the confederations, had to be abandoned for the time being; the present maximum does not normally exceed two weeks. This is a source of anxiety for the workers' education institutes, whose potential for providing higher-level instruction is greater than ever. A common defence is that the benefit to labour is not necessarily linked with the length of the course. While this is true, it is still desirable to measure what benefit has been achieved. One can of course consider the trainees' original level and their efforts to improve their knowledge and powers of expression during each course. But such evaluations can be contested, and the problem is made more complex by the fact that the university labour institutes are not the only bodies engaged in higher-level workers' education. It is now also obtainable in the trade union schools as a result of the experience gained and the constantly increasing efforts made by these schools. Should we be glad that, in addition to a stress on greater objectivity, the trend is towards the pattern in the universities, i.e. close co-ordination between documentation, research and teaching? The stage has been reached when some people would like part of the course to become a by-product of highly specialised research carried out by the different labour institutes and designed to form a co-ordinated project covering as far as possible the whole field of labour studies. Let us hope for success, while merely pointing out that this would reinforce the specific contribution of the labour institutes by making it more scientific.

Britain and the Nordic Countries

In Britain and the Nordic countries, which were of course the first to achieve large-scale workers' education through new types of institutions, two distinctions have to be made although the separations existed for a long time before they were consciously recognised.

The first distinction is between "workers' education" and "trade union education". The former is provided by voluntary organisations (such as the British Workers' Educational Association) in which trade union influence led to the creation of special departments catering for workers who are active unionists. This type of education is "liberal" in the sense of a general education conforming to the British and Nordic concepts of democratic citizenship. The second type ("trade union education") is organised by the confederations and trade unions in their own schools, at least for the basic and middle levels. Early in this century Oxford University offered to take charge of the higher level, and Ruskin College was created in close co-operation with the British Trade Union Congress. The teaching is geared to the performance of trade union functions, is concentrated on labour problems and is openly "committed" - though this latter characteristic has turned out in the course of time to be increasingly compatible with the demands of objectivity, especially at the highest level for which a university body is responsible.

The second distinction to be made is between workers' education and adult education. In the Nordic countries, the historic development of specialised organisations for workers' education and of educational activities of the trade union themselves have left the role of universities rather marginal in workers' education, if not in adult education. In Britain, adult education has from the beginning been a matter for the universities, which created extra-mural departments to meet the need for extension work. It is certainly true that such adult education has reached a considerable proportion of the workers and also that the extra-mural departments were helped by the Workers' Educational Association to become integrated with the world of labour. Nevertheless, it does not follow that these departments are required to devote even part of their efforts to workers' education; their field is definitely that of adult education. And in so far as there is co-operation between the departments and the WEA, it is the latter that is gradually drawn towards adult education rather than vice versa.

Until recently, one could sum up by saying that the specific contribution of the universities was not very different from that of the French or German universities, since it was simply high-level teaching. All the rest, i.e. the work of the extra-mural departments, was adult education; this is shown by the absence of any organised co-operation with the trade unions, the absence of any trade union membership requirement and the absence of any link between the teaching and the worker's responsibilities in his union. Moreover, year by year the proportion of ordinary workers among the students of the extra-mural departments and the WEA declined.

It is reported that the situation is now undergoing considerable changes. In the extra-mural departments and the WEA the proportion of ordinary worker students reached such a low level that immediate action was required. The increasing activities of the TUC in trade union education and in co-ordinating workers' education are effecting significant changes in recent years. At the same time, trade union action suggested new possibilities of workers' education at the level of the undertakings or in close liaison with them. These are the industry-based courses, held during work hours for a whole or half-day without loss of pay from the employer.

As the trade unions are not financing such day-release courses and as the employers want them to be given by neutral bodies, attention turned to the university extra-mural departments. These were looking for a new approach in their work and are gradually becoming persuaded that there is an unexpected opportunity which should not be missed. And economists and social psychologists specialising in industrial relations have demonstrated that their fears of having to reduce their teaching to purely functional training can be overcome by suitable training of tutors.

Do these new developments in the extra-mural departments mean a change in the specific contribution of the universities? The answer of course depends on how far the developments are in workers' education and not merely in adult education. Where the courses, which mainly deal with labour relations and economics, are designed for shop stewards or for unorganised workers admitted in agreement with the trade union branch, it will be workers' education - though in the second case less clearly so. But courses with free recruitment (in the sense of being open to any worker, whether a trade union member or not) and organised without the help of the trade union being asked for or obtained, will still be adult education - as will courses open to management personnel "for free discussion".

Thus, while there will be an increase in the specific contribution of the universities in so far as the industry-based courses are part of workers' education, the bulk of university workers' education activities outside this area of basic education will still be at the higher level initiated by Ruskin College and its rivals.

Soviet Union

For centrally planned economies and the USSR in particular, the findings are not very different from those indicated above for Britain and the Nordic countries. There is not of course an exact counterpart of the extra-mural departments; nevertheless each university devotes much of its time to evening and correspondence courses without separating this work organisationally from the teaching of ordinary students. Where a separate department has been set up, the decision has been based on day-to-day operational considerations rather than on an over-all concept and plan.

The results of an attempt to trace the evolution of university activities for workers in the USSR suggest that these are not currently conceived of as workers' education in the strict sense. It is true that they were so regarded at an earlier period, when, apart from the training organised by trade unions and the party for their own personnel, any form of education (including purely vocational education) received by a worker was regarded as involving implicitly a valuable commitment to the building of socialism, so that it was easy to equate adult education with workers' education. One danger was that, by receiving such a wide currency, workers' education would lose its specific character. Another was that it created an illusion that the courses automatically reached the mass of workers in industry and agriculture, and this turned out to be definitely not the case.

At present, trade union education as the pre-eminent form of workers' education continues to be provided by the trade unions themselves. University evening and correspondence courses also go on as before, but they are more likely to be regarded as adult or permanent education despite the fact that efforts are made to increase the proportion of manual workers and farm people covered by them.

In addition, two innovations must be considered in attempting to evaluate the specific university contribution to workers' education. The first is the "preparatory section" found in the different faculties. The purpose of these sections is the same as that of the former rabfak, i.e. to help ordinary workers with secondary schooling to enter the regular higher education system, but they are designed exclusively for outstanding manual workers and farm people. Inasmuch as the aim is to bring new elements into the intelligentsia through an extended period of full-time education and to spread knowledge of labour studies and broaden culture among the working masses, all the essential elements of workers' education are present. The universities responsible for it consequently rate their preparatory section programmes as higher-level education.

The second innovation has already reached a more advanced stage. This is the creation by the universities of branches in the enterprises. True, the education provided is mainly technical or vocational and forms part of adult education. But some of the courses, often requested by the trade union branch, are designed to provide trade unionists with training in labour studies; and these have similarities to the industry-based courses or day-release of the British. Using the same criteria, a part of these courses in the USSR should no doubt be regarded as workers' education. If so, the specific contribution of the university will have been diversified, since such courses at the workplace - without necessarily being at an elementary level because of the high proportion of workers with secondary education - would have to be definitely below the highest level if they are to be open to as many as possible.

Poland and Yugoslavia

In Poland it is not considered desirable that the universities should set up new bodies for higher-level workers' education. The evening and correspondence courses are sufficient to meet the needs. Nor is it felt that efforts should be made to increase the percentage of manual workers and farm people attending the courses: those who are unable to participate will have no regrets as they see that young people of working-class or peasant origin have easy access to the university after completing secondary education.

As the trade unions also do not feel at present any need to provide higher education for their personnel, there is now little concern with workers' education in the universities, which concentrate on adult education through evening and correspondence courses. Apart from a project being considered by the Social Economics Institute of the Central School for Planning and Wages, for organising higher training for trade unionists on new principles, there are practically no university institutions to take over the work of the Central Trade Union School.

In Yugoslavia, it is generally admitted that the question of access by manual workers and farm people to the regular universities has ceased to be of current concern. While these universities hold entry examinations open to all, the number of "direct producers" with only primary schooling who succeed in entering the university is very small. And it is no longer believed that, with sufficient preparation, this situation could be greatly changed. Yugoslavia has its separate workers' universities, which provide higher-level education for workers where needed (especially in the areas of self-management and occupational safety) without the risk of cutting them off from their roots.

Moreover, in view of the loss of a considerable proportion of skilled workers through emigration, it is considered more important to ensure that the mass of workers and farm people can receive proper middle-level technical education. In view of the need for modernisation of the economy, it is also important that branches of the faculties should be located where they can serve supervisory staff, technicians and office workers able to benefit from the teaching. And lastly, a better aim is to bring about a substantial increase in the proportion of workers' and farmers' children in higher education establishments and to ensure that the education given really meets the needs of the economy without neglecting the worker's individual development, by means of a thorough reform of the operating conditions of the university in line with self-management ideas.

If one attempts, in closing this section on the specific contribution of university programmes to workers' education, to give an over-all picture based on the findings for the different country groups, the conclusion (which in some degree contradicts one of the key hypotheses) is that the term "high-level" is not by itself sufficient to indicate the character of the programmes. On the other hand, a conclusion which had previously been implicit but now appears quite clearly is that the programmes are everywhere complementary to other programmes. In the first place, they are complementary to the programmes of trade unions or related bodies: in no country do the universities do the same things as the trade unions. If in Britain, the United States and the USSR the universities provide basic education programmes, this is either because the unions have not the means or because they prefer to hand over such tasks in order to concentrate on others. The programmes are also complementary in another sense. Where the universities assume the main responsibility for providing the higher education element (which is becoming more and more demanding), they are tending to reach out to the undertakings and local branches or at least to the region or industry concerned, in order to keep close to labour realities even if their standards of teaching suffer slightly. On the other hand, where the university mainly provides rather elementary, functional training, it tries to raise the level by developing labour studies (for example) so as to reach that of a true higher education.

It does not seem however that this complementarity is likely to lead the universities towards a general diversification of programmes constituting a separate system covering the whole range from elementary to higher-level teaching. It is more likely that, without abandoning the main role that they now play, the universities will as a result of needs for complementary programmes and of their basic function, pursue convergent paths so as to put their main emphasis on higher-level teaching, while adapting the standards, content and methods to the particular needs of labour.

SECTION IV. PATTERNS OF ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION

Our application of the proposed working definition of "workers' education", as amended in the light of the inquiry on the extent to which such education is specifically provided in university programmes, makes it clear that we need only consider activities that can be broken down into programmes specifically designed for ordinary workers and are on a scale involving the setting up of a special body. This brings us to the organisational aspect of the question, which must also be considered in the light of a new factor. In view of the trend towards admission of non-union workers to the traditional forms of workers' education - which is likely to be strengthened by the growth of programmes at the workplace or linked with it - the definition of "workers' education" has had to be broadened so as not to exclude unorganised workers. But this is on the express condition that the education is provided for them by a body with which the trade union movement is closely associated, so that their eventual enlistment in the labour movement is one of the possible outcomes of their participation in union-sponsored education. And the necessary co-operation of the trade union movement will not be obtainable unless it is institutionalised, i.e. specifically provided for and guaranteed.

Initial Problems of Terminology

Discussion of the organisational aspect immediately faces us with a problem of terminology. The same words do not possess the same meaning in different countries. The word "institute" in France suggests a body with a degree of organisation and scope that enables it to include both the teaching of various subjects and research. In English it may also be applied to facilities for a few days of full-time study. In German and Russian it generally means a research body.

While "colleges" and "schools" may be basic units of universities in English, in French the terms nearly always apply to primary (or sometimes secondary) school education. In French, the word "faculty" traditionally means the legal framework essential to universities. In English however it may only refer to the full-time teaching staff of a higher educational establishment.

The words "academy", "foundation" and even "association" are also terms for which an exact equivalent is difficult to find in teaching and research structures. However, the words "centre" and "section" suggest in several languages a self-managing unit forming part of a larger unit without coming directly under the board of the university as a whole.

It is worth noting that the words "division" and "department" may refer to a unit coming directly under the board of a university or to a part of an intermediate unit, and that "school" may be a subdivision of a "college". Finally, an expression adopted in recent French legislation, i.e. "teaching and research unit" (*unité d'enseignement et de recherches*) may be useful in this study.

Place of Workers' Education Unit in the Over-all University Structure

In Britain, workers' education is traditionally provided by a college of the university, and it is the college that is directly subordinated to the university board. Extension departments planning to devote part of their work to workers' education can only do so successfully by setting up a body with trade union participation and a fair degree of independence.

In Canada and the United States, there are units, generally described as "centres", under the extension departments. But in other units it is considered essential to have the status of a "school" or "division" so as to be independent of the extension department even if attached to a college. In practice, such schools or divisions may act as an extension department of the college, or they may set up their own extension department. They cannot necessarily count on support from the university board for any proposal to issue their own degrees or certificates. On the other hand, some of the centres forming part of an extension department have no difficulty in operating advanced studies programmes leading to a certificate, or even to a bachelor's degree in collaboration with the local business school.

Another question requiring careful handling is the relationship between the workers' education unit and the business school. Except in the case of higher studies leading to a degree (where regular collaboration may be advantageous), it is generally considered that the workers' education unit stands to lose a good deal if it becomes too closely involved with a business school, where management points of view are liable to predominate and labour may be regarded as one interest group among others.

In the USSR, programmes directly operated by the universities are the general rule. This is clearly the case for the branches set up at undertakings. It is less so for the "preparatory sections" which seem intended in the legislation to be units at a higher level and with greater resources than their name suggests, though they may be attached to the faculty most concerned in each case. However, where the faculties themselves cater for the ordinary worker through their evening or correspondence courses without needing an extramural department, this is not strictly workers' education - except perhaps in a case where a course is adapted to the specific requirements of industrial and farm workers who are leaders of a mass organisation, such as the trade union.

The Federal Republic of Germany is rightly regarded as one of the Western countries where higher-level workers' education outside the trade unions is comparable to a university first degree course, both in duration and in the level of the participants. Nevertheless, the three academies which are responsible for the programmes do not claim to be, legally speaking, university bodies. The universities work with them but are simply associated in the management of the academies, which are constituted as independent public or private foundations jointly administered by the university, the local and provincial authorities and the German Trade Union Confederation (DGB). The reasons for this separation were partly pre-war experience and partly a fear of being hampered, in making teaching and other innovations, by universities long steeped in traditionalism. Moreover, the support of the DGB and public authorities gave them ample resources without financial help from the universities, which were in any case reluctant to devote any substantial amounts to bodies other than their regular faculties. The universities are currently too busy dealing with the surge in the numbers of ordinary students to take on other responsibilities, even in adult education on which they theoretically lay great stress.

However, there are now signs of a move towards closer structural links with the universities and it is not impossible that this may lead to a beginning of integration. Part of the teaching staff is in favour, especially the junior staff who support the efforts of their counterparts in the universities to improve their careers and privileges. Moreover, some of the workers attending courses, although recruited by the DGB, would find it easier to discuss problems and even to work together with the university students. Then there is the problem of achieving equivalence between the diplomas of the academies and the first-level university degrees, so as to permit workers with diplomas to do post-graduate work at the university. Obviously the university would be less unwilling if the problem could simply be solved by adjustments within its own framework.

In France, the first Strasbourg initiative seemed to university teachers and trade unions to be significant enough (it was from the start planned to cover the whole country) to warrant the creation of a fully independent institute. However, for reasons of convenience, it was integrated with the university through the faculty of law and economics. Since then, seven other universities have instituted workers' education programmes operated by centres or sections of an institute able, in addition, to undertake research and regular teaching in labour studies according to customary standards, but not without some new features. For example, the Paris Institute has, in addition to the workers' education centre, a labour studies centre open both to university students and to persons in industry seeking individual advancement in their career in the labour field. The institutes are in some cases attached to a faculty and in others come directly under the board of the university.

Since the November 1968 reform of university organisation, all labour institutes undertaking workers' education have had the option of becoming "research and teaching units" on the same footing as all other constituent parts of a university. In addition, regulations issued for the institutes enable them to make special arrangements in certain matters, where needed. Since the change of status was optional, not all the institutes are in exactly the same situation; however, with this possibility of strengthening their position, they now have a good chance of developing to the point where they will cease to be marginal in the university. Thus, the Paris Institute of Labour Studies was given three seats on the constituent assembly of Paris University I, plus two seats allotted to the law faculty (with which the Institute is federated) for the research and teaching unit specialising in labour law. No other research and teaching unit has more than five to seven seats, even where its student body can be numbered in thousands. Moreover, one of the three seats allocated to the Institute can be filled by a representative of the workers attending courses regardless of the fact that the three labour confederations are already represented separately as outside interested parties.

Place of Workers' Education in the Labour Studies Units of Universities

There seems to be a growing desire among the units providing workers' education in a university framework to acquire an equivalent position to that of other units. For this, the universities would have to cease treating them as marginal, and to recognise the importance of permanent education and of the links which the units have with the world of labour.

Apart from the case where the public authorities decide as a matter of policy to upgrade the unit without requiring it to cover a wider field than workers' education (e.g. the "preparatory sections" established by a decree of the USSR Central Committee of the Communist Party and Council of Ministers), the institutes or centres providing workers' education generally try to do this by diversifying their functions - where this does not occur automatically through their taking over an existing institutional framework. There is, in the first place, the natural inclination of persons responsible for higher-level workers' education to develop documentation and research for use in their programmes. There is, secondly, the feeling that the surest way of demonstrating the scientific quality of their work is by successfully carrying out a series of research projects, even on a subject not directly related to their teaching, and making the results generally known. Thirdly, there is the conviction that, by becoming researchers as well as teachers, they can hope to solve their career problems in the same way as other university staff.

There is also the fact that labour studies are of interest educationally to others besides active trade unionists: such studies at the higher level are needed by people in a number of careers. It is therefore useful to add a third element, catering for university students wishing to enter such careers or to people in them who should clearly be given an opportunity of higher-level study. There is thus a trend towards a combination of these three elements linked by a common interest in labour and the multi-disciplinary approach of labour studies. Apart from the advantage of linking teaching and research, this pattern enables individual advancement and collective advancement to be mutually supporting, at least in the labour specialist field and as a forum for discussion between workers and students. It must be added that, in the atmosphere prevailing in many universities today, the development of this new pattern raises many problems that, in some cases, threaten to topple the structure as soon as it is set up.

In the United States, the main difficulty - apart from insufficient research resources - is the requirement that the units dealing with labour and industrial relations must combine labour and management education, for reasons that are political rather than connected with teaching requirements. The labour unions agree to labour and management education being combined at a single permanent or continuous education centre, provided that the branches are separately administered and operate independently, and that joint activities are limited to brief conferences on specific subjects.

In France, the labour institutes are having difficulty in finding a way of developing research while allowing individual researchers freedom to conduct their work on a purely scientific basis, without depriving the workers' education centre and the union leaders of all influence on the choice of subjects, the assignment of course participants to research (where appropriate), or the use made of results before publication. As there are rival labour confederations, a solution is being sought by making a distinction between (a) documentary or "raw" research closely linked with teaching programmes and with the needs of the confederations, which can be done in the workers' education centre; and (b) research on subjects of interest in themselves conducted by a centre specially set up for the purpose. The representatives of the confederations on the board of the workers' education centre would of course have to participate in running the special centre, but this would have to be done in a way that leaves researchers a free hand in pursuing their scientific task and ensures that the confederations do not pursue their disputes or find themselves involved in responsibility for research results that they consider inconvenient or debatable.

In relation to the ordinary university students, the Paris Institute has been engaged, since it became a "teaching and research unit", in the experiment which has shown that the confederations are interested in the training of labour specialists and recognise that the labour institutes provide an appropriate framework for co-operation and dialogue between workers and intellectuals, where these need urgent improvement. On the Institute's Board trade union representatives sit side by side with teaching staff and with representatives of the university students and of administrative staff. The same arrangement is also in operation in each of the two centres currently constituting the Institute, i.e. there are three trade union representatives on the Board of the Labour Studies Centre (training labour specialists) and there is one university students' representative on the Board of the Workers' Education Centre.

It seems likely that the trend towards combining the three elements will become stronger, especially if the advocates of labour studies and degrees in that field win their point. It may be doubted, however, whether such arrangements constitute a model to be followed by all workers' education programmes. This would depend on the extent to which worker-student co-operation in different countries can persist despite turns and twists in the student movement. In any case, it is clear that - as regards permanent education there can be no single answer to the question whether or not it can be pursued in close association with management.

Contrasting Types of Management Boards

As regards management structure the institutes and centres fall into two groups. One, which is the normal one in the English-speaking countries, comprises two elements: the staff and the advisory committee. The former, consisting of the full-time teachers, takes decisions on matters of policy or administration in conjunction with the director.

The advisory committee in principle gives advice on request, both before and after staff decisions; in the United States, the committee is normally tripartite (management, labour, public authorities). In practice, each section of an institute has its own advisory committee of persons appointed by the bodies directly interested in its work, e.g., union representatives for the "labour" section, employer representatives for the "management" section. Where managements do not use the institute, the question of representation on the advisory committee does not arise, as is the case in Britain and in about ten institutes in the United States.

In the USSR the system based on "democratic centralism" is not very different; the director personally takes the decisions instead of the staff as a whole, and the committee is described as "scientific" without any special reference to its consultative or decision-making powers.

The other system, i.e. that in France and Federal Germany, is based on the concept of co-management. The board responsible for decisions consists of university teachers and trade unionists in equal numbers, who may be joined by representatives of the public authorities specially interested in the centre's work. The function of the director is to execute the decisions. After co-management was made general in the universities by the November 1968 reform, special regulations were made for the labour institutes; these provide for representation of an additional category, i.e. students and workers attending courses, so that in fact the trade unions are represented on the boards in at least two ways (as outside interest groups and as representatives of the workers attending courses) without change in the basic pattern of equal representation of university teachers and trade unionists.

The difference between the two systems is less marked in practice than it appears in theory. In spite of the name, the advisory committees are in a position to exert considerable influence, since the staff of a centre cannot disregard the views of the committee members and the forces they represent without running into great difficulties.

Nevertheless, some trade unionists are critical of the limited role and powers assigned to the advisory committees, as preventing the unions from effectively influencing the development of the centres. The federations and affiliated unions may in future press more strongly their claims to a dominant interest in university bodies offering higher education for unionists.

This would probably be a way of strengthening union interest in the running of the centres, without having to replace the advisory committees by ad hoc bodies for each programme. Even so, the unions would have to take care to appoint representatives who are competent and have time to attend the meetings. This is also a problem in the countries where there is co-management. The university side wants two things which experience has shown to be difficult to combine. One is for the union representatives to have sufficient knowledge of educational questions and enough authority to participate in votes without having to refer continually to their organisations and slowing down management processes. The other is for the representatives to be able to attend meetings without constantly having to call off at the last moment because of unforeseen commitments. Perhaps an answer should be found, but it is a matter for the central labour organisations to solve through an adequate network of representatives with different qualifications so that each can be sure of attending meetings. Fortunately for the universities, the organisations themselves regard it as desirable to appoint representatives specialising in education, with responsibilities varying with the area (national or regional) covered by each institute.

SECTION V. WORKING ARRANGEMENTS

Finance

No workers' education centre can function without a budget of its own. Generally speaking, a centre can count on a regular income sufficient for its needs; as it is fairly small, the funds required are not large and, once the other requirements for starting the programme are met, it is fairly easy to keep expenditure in line with income.

In most cases the income comes from several sources, depending on the purpose for which it is to be used. The basic operating costs are paid by the university either directly out of its over-all resources or by crediting the centre's budget with special grants made to the university for distribution among the different branches of permanent education, including workers' education. Such costs include of course the pay of teaching staff; however, while part-time staff is always paid out of the institute's budget, in some cases the salaries of full-time staff are chargeable to credits under the national budget. As regards workers' expenses when attending courses, the solution depends on whether or not the labour organisations are able to take responsibility for them; normally, they are defrayed by a government department that has an appropriate budget item (e.g. the French Ministry of Social Affairs) or are covered by a grant from a private foundation, a semi-public agency (e.g. a social security fund) or a semi-trade union body (e.g. the Federal German Co-determination Foundation). Where the institute works in a symbiotic relationship with management, any surplus in the education section financed by managements may, by express or tacit agreement, be allocated to workers' education. Where participation in a course involves a loss of wages, works committees are in some cases legally entitled to make up part or the whole of the loss. Now that workers' education centres are organising special programmes at the workplace or in close conjunction with a given undertaking, the company naturally grants day-release without loss of pay - as in the British system, which enjoys union support as it was initially demanded by the unions. It may well be asked whether workers' education centres should not now receive a share of the funds and taxes assigned to technical or vocational further education, especially where, in the course of labour studies programmes, they make a definitive contribution to such education.

The fact that cost items may be paid for from different sources of funds makes it very difficult to compare the budgets of institutions or centres. One of them may have less cash receipts than another but actually have more resources, if such items as remuneration for full-time teaching staff or study grants are not paid out of its budget. Furthermore, the types of expenditure will not be the same for institutes organising full-time courses and for those with programmes based on evening classes. The relationship between volume of work and volume of resources is too dependent on operating conditions in each case for realistic comparisons to be made.

Staffing

There is a striking degree of consistency in the evidence that the "right" size of the full-time staff is about twelve, which is the number found in mature, established institutes operating at full capacity. The approximate composition will be: director and assistant director (or director of studies), three or four teachers, administrative secretary and perhaps a clerk, one or two research assistants, two or three stenographers, two or three service employees. There are of course institutes that have less staff, but these have grounds for complaining that they are understaffed. Others have more staff, but rarely over twenty, and it is not always clear that they all belong to the workers' education centre and are not used also by another section of the institute (e.g. research or management training) or whether they represent the skeleton staff for a number of decentralised offices.

The director is normally a senior university teacher, who takes charge of the institute or centre in addition to his duties as a regular teacher in a faculty or college. Since each institute needs to maintain and perhaps improve its university standing in relation to other operational units of the university, this combination of functions has advantages in that it facilitates approaches to and contacts with the university authorities. It assumes however that the director can rely on an all-round assistant director for day-to-day management, or on a director of studies helped by a person who is sufficiently knowledgeable to take charge of general administration. In either case it will be the duty of the director to get each member of the team to contribute to the attractiveness and scholarly quality of the long-term programme. It will also be his duty, where necessary, to enforce respect for the institute's objectives, in consultation with the managing board. He will of course have to possess the gift of leadership and of stimulating this in the staff. He will also need some of the qualities of a diplomat, since a centre based on university trade union collaboration is a fragile structure, especially if the unions belong to different central organisations. Above all, he must have acquired over a period of years such a degree of respect and trust in the labour movement that, when problems arise, no one will wish to upset the balance on which the work of the institute rests, and all concerned will seriously seek constructive solutions through co-operation.

The director of studies and teaching staff present problems as regards recruitment standards and also careers. There is a tendency, at the outset, to accept minimum university attainments and to concentrate on such factors as: experience in working with trade unions, research already done in the field of labour studies, ability to mix easily with people, a type of mind inclined towards the interdisciplinary approach, active sympathy with the trade union movement and a feeling of serving the cause of progress. Obviously, young men and women with these qualities will fully identify with the job, which is very different from the traditional duties of a teacher. As they have to gain most of their teaching knowledge on the job, very few are able in their first few years at an institute to combine their duties as teacher and leader with work on a thesis to improve their university qualifications. Moreover, however interesting they find the work, it inevitably cuts them off to some extent from the rest of the university; if it cannot be combined with research, they may be overcome by the feeling (which may attack any teacher) that they are making no further progress intellectually and that their specialised knowledge is becoming rusty. In many cases also, the absence of any nationally recognised status as a teaching category affects their standing, both materially and in the university. Understandably, there may be some staff unrest - less no doubt than elsewhere but nevertheless perceptible. It seems that the institutes on the whole do all they can to remedy this by improving employment security and by allocating different duties to each member of the team so that each can (after his or her initiation period) do both teaching and research, and can keep in contact with regular university students without having to go outside the institute and without loss to their performance in workers' education. Naturally, quite apart from day-to-day team meetings at which most questions will be settled by joint decisions, the teachers as a group will be represented on the managing board. In return, it is reasonable to expect them to use their influence - in these days of conflict outside and inside trade union structures - in such a way as to avoid any suspicion that they are more concerned with their career and university interests than with contributing to the aim of the workers' education centre.

Organisation of Relations with Trade Unions

After the team of full-time teachers under the leadership of the director has been set up, there is still one more question to be decided, i.e. whether it should also include one or more trade union official. True, in quite a number of centres (especially in the English-speaking countries), the teachers are former union officials. But there is a difference between engaging a unionist with the minimum university qualifications simply as one of the team, and adding a union officer to the team in order to represent the views of his organisation and without regard to university qualifications. Even if a suitable title can be found for him (such as associate teacher) there is still a risk that the institute will be said to have become indistinguishable from a trade union school - particularly in countries where there is more than one trade union movement and the presence of representatives from different central organisations could create serious problems for the institute's work.

On the other hand, it seems desirable that collaboration between university staff and trade unionists should not be limited to choice of topics for study and design of curricula, but should continue during implementation of the plans. The best solution where an institute's activities take the form of full-time residential courses seems to be one in which the full-time university teachers have the help of a trade union co-director during the course. This may be the only way in which they can concentrate on their central task, while enabling the participants to be informed of their organisation's views and allowing the co-director to comment when he thinks it desirable. Such an arrangement is particularly necessary where there is more than one central organisation and separate courses are arranged for each with a co-director from the confederation concerned.

In institutes providing courses of longer or shorter duration but exclusively after working hours, the presence of a union representative would probably be desirable for the same reasons. This is more difficult to organise on a course-by-course basis, but there are several possible solutions. However, a need for this does not seem to have arisen up to now perhaps because the kind of instruction given on techniques in labour relations is not regarded as liable to confuse participants in matters of ideology. In so far as programmes move away from such purely technical questions towards the wider field of high-level labour studies, it may be expected that the trade unions will press for continuous representation, both before and during programmes.

Participants in Courses

Institutes can only function properly if participants are admitted to courses in such a way that union members' needs to improve their knowledge without a drop in their standard of living are reconciled with the joint decision of university teachers and trade unionists to provide a given type of instruction at a given level. This means that participants must be capable of following the instruction in conjunction with their union responsibilities.

How is recruitment carried out? For full-time courses, candidates are proposed by the labour organisation by submitting full particulars of each to the institute. The latter has in principle the right to accept or reject them according to the likelihood of their being able to benefit from the programme; if it is a high-level course, candidates are judged by the courses already taken or by the level of their union responsibilities. In practice, since the labour organisation has agreed on the level of the course and is well aware that unsuitable candidates will only waste their time to the detriment of others who could benefit more, it will apply the above-mentioned criteria when preparing its list of candidates, and the institute may simply approve the list as far as places on the course are available. Sometimes, in the case of longer full-time courses, candidates have to take an aptitude test or even an entry examination, in addition to having considerable experience and responsibility in the union.

On the other hand, in the case of elementary-level instruction in industrial relations through evening classes, the institutes admit all applicants approved by their unions (or by the organisation for which the course is designed) until the total number of available places is reached, when registration stops. There is not yet any well-established answer to the tricky question of what should be done when non-union workers are concerned. In view of the nature of workers' education it is to be expected that a procedure would be adopted to allow the applicant, the institute and the labour organisation to state their views.

Workers following a course may have to pay a tuition fee and for board and lodging where the course is residential. These costs are refunded by their union or by a public or private body able to do so. In most cases the workers have nothing to pay, as the institute has already received a grant covering both the cost of their participation and payment by the institute of a grant covering travelling expenses and any loss of wages. In cases where wages are lost or part of them (since works committees quite often cover part of the loss), the worker either receives an equivalent payment after producing a certificate from his employer or his pay sheet, or is given a lump sum depending on his or her family situation. The practice of continuing wages during study is tending to spread. It is probable that it will become the normal practice through union pressure for the right to educational leave with pay and through imitation of what is done in adult technical education.

At the end of the course, each participant receives at least an attendance certificate, which may be useful in relation to his employer. In some cases, higher-level education may lead to the award of a diploma or certificate based on the combined results of a leaving examination and of tests during the course.

On the whole, workers use the knowledge they have acquired to improve their performance of union duties, which is in line with the objective of workers' education. Where prospects of a promotion are a direct aim in undergoing the course, such prospects are of the kind that an active unionist may democratically expect from his union leadership. However, a worker may find, at the end of a substantial higher-level course, that he has new opportunities of great interest in themselves but of a non-union kind. Where a union has sufficient confidence in its members to feel sure that they will remain loyal wherever they are, and has no great shortage of officials, it may not mind individuals leaving the fold. The German DGB, for example, considers that this broadens its support in the public at large in so far as the new opportunities are also of a "social" character.

Inter-University Co-ordination

In a number of countries the first labour institutes were successful enough to make the universities wish to create new ones. In the United States, for example, at least thirty have been set up since 1945, all with workers' education programmes. In France there are now seven, although the first only dates from 1955-56. In the USSR every university will soon have a "preparatory section". The fact that there are a number of institutes in a country does not in itself create any strong need for inter-institute co-operation. Up to now, many of the centres in the United States merely provide elementary instruction in a way that differs little from one university to another and no one is shocked if differences of detail persist, since excessive uniformity might well be regarded as a threat to flexibility. On the other hand, the bigger centres are in a position to offer workers a full range of education from elementary instruction to high-level labour studies within their walls. In some other countries, however, a strong need for co-ordination has accompanied the growth of institutes because their activities have been such as to lend themselves to co-ordination. So far, this has been arranged informally but quite effectively. In Federal Germany, workers who have completed the 9-12 months' course in the Frankfurt or Dortmund academy can follow it up with a three-year course at the Hamburg academy. In France, co-ordination has become particularly necessary because the original distinction between national and regional institutes has become blurred, and each group is tending to add types of activity that are normally the duty of the other. It is also felt desirable that there should be standardisation in administrative rules (calculation of grants, teachers' remuneration, etc.). Moreover, there are new functions that could be undertaken by the institutes; it was therefore thought useful to supplement the annual meetings between staffs by meetings every second month between directors, one of the directors being chosen as their joint representative in relations with the public authorities. A further need is for meetings of university people and trade unionists representing all the institutes; in view of union pluralism, these will probably be held separately for each central organisation though, as the questions to be discussed are merely technical ones, the possibility of a joint meeting is not to be excluded.

Institute Participation in Outside Activities

The contacts that a team or some of its members may have with the trade unions, quite apart from the programme of institute activities, may be considerable. In a number of countries the unions ask the institute teachers for help in their educational or other work. Such requests, which could become very varied, range from the loan of multidisciplinary documentation for consultation to requests for a definite statement of opinion on economic and social problems involving the unions. It would be going too far to say that there is agreement in each country on whether labour institutes should or should not embark on such a course. For some people, the main concern must be to maintain the specific character of the institutes and not to accept tasks that belong to the trade unions. They think that the organisations themselves (especially where union pluralism prevails) may later be glad of such a refusal, feeling that it would not have been in their long-term interest for an outside body to take over union responsibilities, even with the unions' initial agreement. They believe also that it would facilitate attacks by persons in the universities or outside them who are hostile to the institutes. Other people, however, would be sorry to deprive the institutes of some of the enthusiasm and urge for action which have led them to place their capacity for objective study at the disposal of the labour movement. These people see no major objection to a labour institute being involved locally in current labour developments side by side with the workers and providing specific help for them. The answer may depend on the country concerned, on trade union preferences and on what the institutes will accept. But whichever answer is given, university teachers as such must never abandon their objectivity in the way in which they show their sympathy for the labour movement, or their determination to help the workers through playing their own role.

SECTION VI. TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

Advantages and Disadvantages of the Different Types of Activities

Short-term and Long-term Programmes

The educational activities of the institutes or centres can be broadly subdivided into two types: non-residential and residential (i.e. full-time). The non-residential type can also be subdivided into "short courses" and "long-term programmes". The trend that is developing as regards the relative emphasis on the two forms of non-residential activities is that educationists are urging replacement of short-term by long-term wherever this is possible. One reason is that, with a course of only six or seven classes held once a week, the teaching must either be narrowly technical in content or must deal with subjects at a very elementary level. Moreover, in view of the problems that both forms involve in maintaining enthusiasm and avoiding the deadening effect of routine, some university people are wondering whether a job of such limited intellectual scope is really one for the universities. No doubt, the short courses also suffer wherever there is enthusiasm for industrial relations training with its competitors of "educational development" and "labour studies".

This does not mean that long-term non-residential programmes have no handicaps. They do not differ in character from the short courses and, in many respects, suffer from similar difficulties. They are held at the end of the working day when the workers are tired and may at any time have other things to attend to. True, in the countries where this form of education is widely used with some success, the well-known difficulties of any kind of evening course are less, because the working day is continuous so that workers are free earlier and can recover at the end of the afternoon. Even so, timetables are not the only factor, and there are other ways in which life in the emergent post-industrial society is unfavourable to regular attendance. And the problems of irregular attendance and tiredness that are inherent in any form of after-work education may be worse than in short courses because the number of classes per week and the number of weeks is greater in a long-term programme. Against this, the larger number of classes devoted to each subject makes it easier to develop "active" teaching methods based on a combination of inter-related lectures, group work, individual work, case studies and discussions - though with classes of two or three hours at most separated by a gap of several days, it is not easy for the teacher to co-ordinate the various activities which need to be integrated in an over-all teaching plan.

In addition, the possibility of providing scope for stage-by-stage advance in knowledge and thinking patterns - which should be one of the strong points of the long-term programmes - is often in practice lost sight of by the organisers. Arguing that each participant must have enough freedom of choice to be able to switch subjects from one year to another, they end up with courses at a more or less uniform level throughout the period of the programme. This is convenient for programme directors in two ways: it makes for flexibility in the staffing for each course and it avoids having to provide each year the full range of options under the programme. But these advantages are gained at the expense of opportunity for continued progress in a subject, which can hardly be sacrificed without detriment to a long-term educational programme.

There is one way of avoiding these difficulties, i.e. by getting participants to give up, not simply one or two evenings a week, but three or four. This is the solution chosen in the USSR, at least as regards adult education provided by the different faculties. But in this case social pressures are so strong that workers feel in honour bound to do what is expected of them, however hard this may be; and the universities have had to develop their adult education work in line with growth in attendance to the point where it represents practically half of all university activities, with the resulting problems of teaching, premises and stop-gap solutions.

Enterprise-Linked Programmes

The short courses which still remain, quantitatively, the major activity of the labour institutes in the United States are showing some signs of exhaustion. There is some falling off in interest and, even when they are organised with a group of union locals in the same industry, things no longer run so smoothly. To combat this, there is a trend towards classes of a more homogeneous character recruited from members of a single local. But as courses are brought nearer to the undertakings, thoughts inevitably turn to the advantages that the latter could offer by way of ensuring regular attendance and sufficient time for integrated use of the different teaching methods, i.e. full-day release during working hours.

Activities of this type are in fact already being conducted by labour institutes in the United States under the name of "conferences". These last for one or two whole days, but are not at present organised at firms solely for unionists from the union local; nor have they coincided with the days of leave allowed by the employer and have thus not entitled participants to compensation for wages lost through attendance.

In Britain the trend has been in the same direction, though under the denomination of adult rather than of workers' education. The day-release system is of interest since it provided a starting point for the industry-based courses, though these are only relevant where they cater exclusively for non-management personnel and are organised at the suggestion of and in collaboration with the union branch. Where this is so, it makes no difference whether the course is held inside or outside the undertaking. The fact that the employer grants leave with normal pay does not in itself exclude a course from the definition of workers' education. But there is some uncertainty whether such courses should be organised by a university body.

In France the trade unions also expect training of members during special leave to be without loss of wages, but they prefer the payment to be made through the works committee. The fact that an enterprise makes such courses possible by providing facilities does not necessarily, in their view, mean that it is the best place for them to be held. In reality, the unions' demand in France is for two weeks' educational leave with wages, rather than for day release which does not lend itself to educational activities restricted to the unionists in a given enterprise. If the French unions, without abandoning their demand for statutory paid educational leave, were to follow the example of the British unions, it is not impossible that they would get used to the idea of having day courses at the workplace, probably using the premises of the works committee. What is impossible is that they should agree to such courses being given by the university labour institutes; the function of these bodies is, in their view, to provide higher education facilities to be used, in principle, during the two weeks' educational leave. In any case unionists are indemnified for loss of wages by the institutes, which in turn are subsidised out of public funds.

Non-residential Long-term Programmes

One or two awkward questions arise also in connection with the long-term residential programmes, i.e. the awards to be given at the end of the courses. In most cases the participants are satisfied with a certificate, based simply on regular attendance or on success in the final examination apart from tests during the course. However, with the spread in the universities of the practice of granting degrees or credits on the basis of evening courses, it is natural that the effects should be felt in workers' education. The commonest arrangement at present is the award of extension credits, but these are likely to retain their ad hoc character. Genuine equivalence with normal university degrees would involve a system of credits or units of value leading to a junior degree at a level corresponding to the award made under various names in Europe at the end of the first two years of higher-level studies. This is the solution adopted by the Labour Education Center of Rutgers University and it is being tried in a few other institutions - apart from the system of evening courses leading to an M.A. in labour studies, which are open to workers but for which very few of them are able in practice to enter. In the USSR, the evening courses representing nearly half of the universities' activities lead to the same degrees as are available to students attending courses given during the day. However, applicants for the evening courses must have completed education up to a level that ensures that they can profitably follow the courses. In practice, very few of the mass of ordinary workers have this qualification, either because they had to break off secondary schooling, or because they gave up studies after completing secondary school and could not now resume them without a refresher course. Moreover, those who succeed in resuming studies receive a type of education (side by side with students predominantly not coming from an industrial or agricultural worker background), which is more in the nature of adult education than workers' education.

A further type of non-residential programme is the correspondence course. If these courses are to flourish, as in the universities in the USSR and in the Scandinavian workers' education associations, they need to be accompanied by other types of activity (including some which come into the residential category). These complementary activities include the "consultations" or visits by teachers to a place that can easily be reached by students living in the neighbourhood for study sessions with the teacher. It may even be possible for the study sessions to last for several days in cases where workers can obtain special leave and the teachers have sufficient time.

Sessions in preparation for examinations are yet another type of activity linked with correspondence courses. For these, workers have to go to the university or to the headquarters of the workers' education association. In the USSR sessions are held for one month in each year and naturally involve full-time accommodation and expenses for the participants. Since they form part and parcel of the correspondence courses, the latter may be regarded as a mixed system with non-residential and residential elements. No doubt this system will increasingly make use of the mass communication media, especially television, to facilitate direct contact between student and teacher, in so far as the media can be adapted to the needs of higher-level workers' education.

Residential Full-time Programmes

The residential full-time programmes are also of two types: sessions of up to about 12 weeks (i.e. rather shorter than a university semester) and periods of study similar to ordinary first-stage higher studies lasting from slightly longer than a semester (i.e. 15-20 weeks) up to a period of three years (possibly divided into six semesters).

In the case of the periods of study of the first-stage type, there is a noticeable trend towards a longer period enabling a worker who has completed his workers' education study to continue higher-level study at faculties or colleges without having to go through the whole curriculum for students who have not yet entered working life. Hence the need for the advanced studies diplomas awarded by labour centres, labour academies of "preparatory sections" to be recognised as an equivalent qualification for proceeding to a master's degree within a reasonable period, i.e. one that will be slightly longer than the ordinary time needed for a second degree but still feasible without overstrain. Of course, there is a risk that a worker moving over to the normal university ladder after a relatively long period of full-time study will more or less lose touch with his former working life and in course of time forget his worker origin. The risk is increased by the fact that, from the time when he begins full-time higher-level study in workers' education, he will be working side by side with traditional-type students preparing for a career as labour specialists and having less concern with "collective advancement" for the masses. It would be an exaggeration to claim that a suitable way of averting this danger has as yet been thought of.

As regards the second type of full-time residential programme, i.e. sessions of up to 12 weeks, opinions vary considerably from one country to another. In the United States, those of the university centres which have recourse to sessions of short duration rather surprisingly place them in the category of elementary instruction. The only universities holding sessions of more than three or four days are those in which the workers' education programmes operate as part of other activities and no specialised centre has been set up. An example is the 13-week Harvard University course given in the Business School; the relative lack of interest for this programme among American workers' education specialists may be due to the fact that, in the opinion of the unions, it covers matters outside the normal scope of courses.

In the past, both the university institutes and the union schools used relatively long sessions quite freely, and the labour movement looks back on them with mixed feelings which explain its continuing guardedness on the subject. The earlier sessions are said to have encouraged opposition to prevailing tenets, both in the teaching and also when former participants came to apply their knowledge; and the demand for new posts in the union structure for ex-participants would have meant depriving experienced unionists who had the misfortune of having gained their knowledge on the job. However, the hesitations of the AFL-CIO about these programmes is due more to the institutional framework in which they operate than to the type of activity as such; the federation itself has such programmes at its recently established central school in Washington.

In other countries there is not the same distrust for this type of activity. With the growing view among national confederations that the essential role of the labour institutes lies in the field of higher-level education for workers, they are less and less likely to have objections to sessions being organised by the institutes. However, the trend here is in the opposite direction to the trend already mentioned in relation to periods of study of the normal first-stage type, i.e. it is towards shorter sessions. This is the case in France for reasons described elsewhere, some of which must be regarded as the price paid for the progress towards recognition of the right of unionists to workers' education through special leave. At present, the sessions rarely exceed two weeks, but this has not prevented the central union organisations from pressing the institutes to raise the level to that of a research or policy discussion session.

The purpose of the research sessions is to give unionists with high-level responsibilities an opportunity - before decisions have to be taken on a particular matter - to look at the main points in a scientific way, to hear the opinions of experienced specialists, to compare views and to identify the possible solutions as a basis for the final choice by the appropriate union body outside the institute. In the case of policy discussion sessions, national leaders responsible for formulating the policy of a confederation or industrial union for a specific sector or industry are brought together with an approximately equal number of university teachers, for joint study of a given topic. Naturally, the aim in neither type of session is to reach decisions, but only to stimulate and clarify thinking.

A difficulty with both these types of sessions is that of securing the continuous attendance of all participants, since these cannot easily postpone their other heavy commitments for several consecutive days. To overcome this problem, it has been suggested that the sessions might be subdivided into periods not exceeding three days and spread over the year. It is possible, nevertheless, that these types of sessions will spread as more unionists get to know them, e.g. sessions for an industrial union or for union members in the different plants of a big company. Sessions of this type are likely to become increasingly needed in view of the new structures in industry that unionists now have to deal with in the countries which are economically most advanced. Moreover, they reflect the trend which is bringing workers' education nearer to the enterprise, as has already been seen in relation to non-residential programmes.

It may be wondered - though this involves some rather hazardous extrapolation - whether the clear distinction between residential and non-residential activities (whether organised at the undertakings, locally or on university campuses) is not becoming less precise. The residential programmes have reached a point where they may be broken up into three-day sessions, while the non-residential courses now occupy a full day as the result of day-release and this is not necessarily limited to once a year. Seen from this angle, is the gap between them so very great? Instead of plodding on with comparisons of the advantages and disadvantages of each, would it not be better to ask ourselves in what circumstances the two forms (in spells of short duration repeated several times a year) can be expected to be effective from the teaching point of view at the different levels of workers' education, including the advanced level.

Perhaps there is only an apparent paradox in imagining a sort of complementarity between them, similar to that between the corresponding classes and the one-month spells of residence before examinations in the USSR. But instead of the correspondence class being the main element and the pre-examination session being subsidiary, might not the shortened but repeated residential session become the main element, accompanied by a new type of correspondence course to keep participants in form during the intervals between sessions and enable them to pursue a genuinely permanent education?

SECTION VII. CONTENT AND METHODS

Syllabus

It is not customary for a syllabus to be laid down once and for all but rather for it to be constantly adapted in the light of experience. In the particular case of the French labour institutes where topics are selected rather than fields of study, each session with a new content may be designed without reference to any pre-established curriculum. It should be added that the three-week sessions of these institutes lend themselves rather easily to this approach. On the other hand, institutes emphasising short or long-term non-residential programmes and offering instruction in one or more subjects cannot avoid having an over-all syllabus and concise outlines for each subject, which are followed year after year with little change. The degree of permanence is greatest in institutes providing higher full-time study of the normal first-stage university type. Here there is a tendency to return to classification of subjects by discipline, on the understanding that in the presentation of the subjects they will be subdivided in the new way that is becoming customary in most places. This provides a means of avoiding over-involvement with union demands centred on current action needs, while not necessarily giving grounds for complaint. The method of continually putting everything back into the melting-pot may do some good but it may also upset those unions which prefer continuity, even if the changes only concern the presentation of programmes.

Teaching Approach and Objectivity

There is unanimous agreement, as regards the teaching approach, that a compromise must be found between the demands of intellectual precision and scientific objectivity - which no university worthy of the name could neglect - and the need to respect the experience, ways of thought and policies of the trade unions. The existence of the institutes goes to show that a balance can be found. The fact that there are rarely any references to this matter in the rules is an indication that the main concern of members of an institute's team is mutual respect, in the sense of moderation and fidelity on the part of each individual, on the university side and on the trade union side, to his own role.

But it is not equally certain that the need for objectivity is understood in the same sense everywhere. The cleavage in this respect depends less on differences in economic or political systems or in the level of education offered than on whether there is a common ideological denominator between social categories, and consequently on whether or not the unions adopt a position that challenges established society as a whole. Where there is a common frame of reference, the labour institutes can teach with a feeling that, without infringing the need for objectivity, they can take the established values as an implicit ideological base and adopt a viewpoint similar in all respects to the one favoured by the unions in training their members. On the other hand, where the unions take up positions inspired by conflicting ideologies differing greatly (even fundamentally) from one central organisation to another, the labour institutes feel obliged in the interest of objectivity to examine all the published material and report all points of view fairly, especially those on which the various ideological families making up the labour movement are divided. Moreover, they must do this without any member of the team having to renounce his own beliefs, which may not necessarily favour maintenance of the established order at the global society level since objectivity is not the same as neutrality. It is to be hoped, however, that the views of the permanent university staff will not in the context of the institute be such as to provoke serious conflict with any of the trade union partners; and experience has shown that this is not impossible.

This difference in attitude and behaviour due to differences in social relations in their particular countries does not prevent the university people at the labour institutes from having a common conviction, all over the world, that the old liberal education concept is now out of place in the field of workers' education. Even those university people who are unwilling to break with the tradition agree that only those elements which relate to developing thought processes and critical sense should be retained, and that this should be done on the basis of subjects which people of today (particularly unionists) feel concerned about.

In general, people in the unions are very glad but would immediately add a proviso that this formal or structural dimension of workers' education must not lead to a new form of "academism" which would confuse the minds of unionists, divert them from militancy and eventually make them lose all sense of reality through over-indulgence in the world of ideas where ill-digested concepts are the most liable to distort the mind.

University people must be aware of these problems, even at the higher level of workers' education, if they hope to avert misunderstandings and obstacles on the union side. They must also be careful not to criticise "training" as unworthy of true university education. It may be that they feel some weariness where training is limited to teaching workers how to be effective in collective bargaining and in industrial relations in general; but this does not mean that all forms of training are unsuitable. Where the word "training" is used to stress the functional character of the education without limiting it to stereotyped techniques which easily become a routine, there seems to be no reason why workers' education should or could do without it. To ask for workers' education to be "disinterested" - in the sense of workers studying with the sole purpose of improving their minds without regard to the aim of collective advancement of the workers as a whole - would be equivalent to changing its essential character. In the over-all structure of education, workers' education cannot occupy a place like that of "art for art's sake" in literature without returning to the good old "liberal" aim of education, which all agree it outdated.

The unions regard workers' training as a branch of education in which the aim is to provide unionists with a mental framework and in which the content goes far beyond relations techniques and covers the whole range of labour studies. So much so that the expressions "workers' training" and "workers' education" may both be used, without distinction, to refer to this branch of education which aims to develop the ability of individuals primarily in its functional relation to their trade union responsibilities.

"Closed" Functional and "Open" Functional In Relation to Content

It still seems useful to make the distinction between a "closed" functional content (entirely self-contained) and an "open" functional content - even within the area of "training" in its broader definition. Nevertheless, if a functional content were regarded as "closed" where it is in line with a conformist conception of the global society, and as "open" where it aims at going beyond the established system, then the distinction would eliminate from the analytical framework a number of countries where the distinction exists without any challenge to the established order. It therefore seems more correct to use "closed" where the functional content is more or less limited to industrial relations techniques, and to use "open" where it embraces labour studies as a whole, regardless of the objective assigned to them.

In Western Europe the content of workers' education is "open" functional. It has always been concerned with economics, law, sociology, psychology and history, i.e. with the disciplines used to enable labour to understand itself and its position in society and to change the character of the society in line with its policy which is generally to replace the existing system by another system more favourable to the workers' aspirations.

In the USSR there is a growing opinion that workers' education should not be limited to technical or vocational training (even if political and ideological training is given as well) but should include a fair amount of economics, law and even sociology. Thus the functional content, after a time narrowing its limits to the technical and vocational field, is gradually broadening to cover the labour sciences.

The advantages of an "open" functional content are also realised in the United States in relation to basic activities and to advanced studies. Both in the "labour studies" model and in the "educational development" model, a need is being felt for study of the new problems of an emerging post-industrial society. But the list of these problems leaves one in some doubt as to the relationship between some of them and labour studies. Many of them, however, are questions on which an analysis would help the trade union movement to understand itself better and to become familiar with problems of the post-industrial society, at least as regards their incidence on the conditions of workers as consumers and as producers. The labour education centres have started to make a selection with the stated aim of maintaining the specific character of their labour studies, i.e. everything that economics, law, sociology, psychology and history can contribute to the study of labour as regards the situation of its members, its organisations and collective action.

There is some reason to think that in spite of differences in background situations and of a contrary process the content of the courses given by the labour institutes, at least in Western countries, is becoming somewhat more similar. On one side new problems are being tackled but only those which are compatible with the framework of labour studies. On the other, the institutes start out with a framework of labour studies but are broadening the content to cover all workers' problems at work and outside work.

In any case the affinities are substantial enough for there to be a growing family likeness between all the institutes. But this resemblance in the way of defining the subject matter of the courses does not affect the basic differences in the way in which the subjects are treated, since the institutes are bound to take account of ideological conflicts, at least in so far as these correspond to differences of approach within the labour movement.

Methods

On the question of apportioning the total time between lectures and discussion in small groups of 8-12 persons, while priority is given to the latter, lectures should not be abolished altogether, especially at the higher level, but they must not be given *ex cathedra* and must fit into the over-all teaching plan; the purpose of lectures is to provide the essential framework for group work and material for the groups to work on.

The desire for active teaching methods and even for a special system of teaching adults is not unrelated to the findings of social psychology. The techniques recommended by the latter, especially in the area of group dynamics, are considered by some people as extremely useful in workers' education and would prevent it from becoming old fashioned and getting left behind other forms of education. Nevertheless, even the warmest supporters of these techniques would think it a serious mistake to attach so much importance to them that they become an end in themselves.

An important point concerns study materials for workers attending courses and use of audio-visual equipment. The former include course outlines, texts of laws and court decisions, statistics, summaries of published articles and bibliographies. In respect of libraries, account should be taken of their adequacy and of the ways not only in which they are used but also in which they might be developed.

A further series of points relate to means of making teacher-student relationships as harmonious as possible. The first element is the creation of a team spirit among the permanent university staff and not only among the teachers, maintained by frequent meetings that enable all teachers, research assistants, administrative and technical staff and service personnel to feel concerned with the progress of the institute and be involved in its management. The existence of a coherent, dynamic team is an essential factor in putting participants at their ease and helping them to know each other and work together effectively. The number of participants should not exceed thirty, whether the course is residential or non-residential, otherwise there is difficulty in establishing direct contacts on a person-to-person basis between teachers and students.

It is important also that the university team should not keep to itself and should make arrangements for close co-operation with union officials from the beginning to the end of the course. There is general support for associating union officials in the choice of course content, methods and even the selection of lectures. All these requirements cannot be improvised and teachers therefore need training in methods meeting the special needs of workers' education.

SECTION VIII. TENTATIVE OUTLINE OF THE PROBLEM AREA IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The information on workers' education activities by the universities in the developing countries does not suggest that these have so far been quantitatively important. However, even if they are limited, they may be specific in character and capable of extensive development. It may also be that, before taking action, universities are still at the stage of preliminary study and discussion.

It therefore seems premature to draw any final conclusions, particularly as certain experiments in Chile, Jamaica, Kenya, Philippines, Puerto Rico and Senegal suggest that the universities feel sufficiently concerned with workers' education to allot considerable resources to it, to adapt their structures to its special requirements and to show genuine imagination in devising new solutions.

University initiatives may go more or less unnoticed or come up against a barrier of prejudice, but as situations develop, universities will be faced with an unexpectedly wide range of rather specific responsibilities, so that if they refuse to accept them, the whole edifice of workers' education will crumble. Assuming that they accept them, they will still have to have a fairly clear idea of what they can contribute in relation to what is expected of them, or they will disappoint the hopes of those who have faith in them despite the general climate of scepticism.

Reasons for University Reluctance

Quite apart from the question whether the universities do or do not do more than people usually think, there are plenty of factors inciting them to caution and discouraging enthusiasts.

In the nature of things, the universities are above all concerned with reinforcing their reputation for scholarship in countries which by and large plan to find their own paths to development and to free themselves from the influence of the older countries. There are plenty of objective reasons why even the most disinterested university people should choose a branch other than workers' education, however anxious they may be to contribute through their work to the educational needs of the population as a whole. Any person who devotes his time in an under-developed country to training wage earners, commercial and clerical workers and minor civil servants can only hope to reach a small percentage of the ordinary people and a group that is relatively privileged in comparison with the mass of peasants. Moreover, many of the workers receiving education do not remain in the trade union movement.

In view of development requirements, a university may feel it wiser not to risk placing itself in an uncertain position by embarking on workers' education, but to stick to adult education for all social categories together, even if the contingent from the wage-earning group has to be small like their percentage in the nation as a whole. It is often considered that by avoiding training for specific social categories, the university can make a more certain contribution to strengthening that most precious bond between citizens from the development point of view: a common denominator derived from the traditional society.

Even if they overcome their fears, many of the universities have so little resources that they could not meet the financial demands of workers' education without outside assistance, since this type of education involves very substantial student grants (to cover loss of wages among other things) and is relatively expensive.

Trade Union Pressure for University Action

The workers' organisations often have a greater influence on the mass of the population than appears at first sight. If there are not enough union workers with sufficient awareness, the traditional society will be lacking in a social category that can provide daily stimulus in the work of development and act as a spearhead for making the structural changes that are needed. Unionists competent enough for the task will not be available unless they are trained. The unions for their part are so conscious of this need that they are pressing hard for adequate funds to be allocated to workers' education.

It so happens that they have less prejudice against universities than the unions in the industrially-advanced countries. In the first place, the prestige of higher education is greater and, seeing it from a greater distance, unionists attribute all the virtues to it. Second, even if the university is not regarded as very progressive in teaching methods, it is not regarded politically as a rampart of conservatism; in so far as the requirements for sound co-operation are met in other respects, the union view is that there must be a way of working effectively with it. Third, even if it turns out that the university has a partiality for contacts with industry, i.e. the employers, there is nothing very shocking about this from the unions' point of view. They would regard it rather as a promise of useful contacts which, if diverted into the educational field, would cease to be compromising and enable workers' education to have regular facilities and resources which could be accepted without sacrificing the unions' independence.

Changing Government Attitudes to University Participation

There is yet another factor, the State. Especially in cases where trade union pressure cannot be brought to bear, government initiative offers the best chance for workers' education to be regarded as a national problem and provided with suitable resources.

But the public authorities are in this matter so motivated that the possibility of calling on the universities for help is excluded from the outset. As long as there are no unions or very few and the question of promoting them is not a current concern, the State may urge private employers to provide training and possibly further education for their personnel. Where this goes beyond purely technical or vocational training, care is taken to ensure that the workers' introduction to economic and social problems is such as to strengthen their feeling that their interests are bound up with those of the employers. Where the State has its own industrial sector, it may decide to set an example.

However, nationalised enterprises still have to meet certain requirements as to productivity and profitability, so that the educational approaches in them are likely to be even more concerned with emphasising the common interests of all social categories and the workers' advantages in supporting the existing system.

The same thing happens on a larger scale and more forcefully where a developing country so broadens its aim of social integration in industry within the existing framework that it becomes an aim of over-all national policy.

This has often led to a situation where, instead of preventing industrial strife, it seemed better to institutionalise it within a more or less standardised system of industrial relations, and to convince employers that they would benefit from playing the game according to these rules. Such a system also showed the importance of effective leadership of the masses for warding off challenges to the established system and allowing those concerned to show their skill in the field of economic growth.

All this presupposes that the unions are in a position to provide adequate training for members so that they can play their proper part in the joint machinery. As the unions obviously could not meet the cost of such training, it was necessary to find a solution that was both satisfactory on technical grounds and in line with the over-all policy objective. The preferred solution has been to set up a "board" consisting of representatives of government, unions, employers and one or two persons nominated by universities.

Despite the minority position of the universities, the work of the boards has gradually made it clear what specific contribution the universities can make. Governments, having initiated the experiment, evidently intend to keep ultimate control in their hands, while allowing the boards (which are private associations) enough independence to carry out the actual work effectively. In India, for example, the tests which provide the basis for the selection of workers to be financed by the local branches of the Central Board of Workers' Education are conducted by ad hoc committees which include ex officio university representatives side by side with government representatives.

So the point is reached where the university is assigned a specific function that had not been planned at the start, i.e. that of ensuring teaching expertise and objectivity in the choice of selection criteria. It is evident that, in the day-to-day operation of a network of educational institutions, many other cases must arise when it is felt that the university's role should be developed.

Such occasions are not limited to teaching matters. The functioning of the system of boards or private associations financed by the State depends in practice on there being sufficient agreement between workers, employers and government for none of the parties to have any strong reason to revise their commitment. If this general agreement breaks down - for example, if the unions for their own reasons decide to keep membership training free from government control - the board will have to face the fact that one of the conditions for successful work is no longer present. The government may not consider this reaction of the unions so reprehensible that it must terminate state aid to workers' education; it can plausibly adopt an understanding attitude because in many cases, in order to gain unanimous support, it announced at the onset its intention of handing over as soon as those mainly concerned could do without its help.

If so, a different structure from that of the boards must be found. But the government may not favour making direct grants to the unions, especially if the political situation is so fluid that an apparently deserving organisation today may at a future date take up an attitude directly contrary to the aims of the authorities.

The number of institutions that have enough independence to be unaffected by political changes is very small. The unions moreover may lack the staff resources and premises to provide the training needed by their members, however determined they may be to resist outside interference. In view of this, the likelihood of the university being called in to escape from a deadlock is surely not one that can be lightly dismissed.

The universities must make it clear that the reasons for calling them in should not be simply to rescue the government, unions and employers from an embarrassing situation. The best way of doing this is to undertake programmes likely to be satisfactory to all, while ensuring that the specific function of the university is fully understood. A number of universities have realised this and have set up workers' education bodies, taking into account the degree of under-development and nature of social relations in their countries as well as the significance of the unions, the way in which these are organised and the model which they follow.

Tentative Classification of Current Programmes

In terms of the emphasis placed on workers' education in the over-all workload of the institute or centre providing it, the programmes in different parts of the developing world now show quite a wide range of differences. In the first group, the work of the centre gravitates around workers' education. A typical example was the Centre for Trade Union and Co-operative Studies at the

University of Chile. Links with the trade union confederation were so close that the purpose of the Centre is defined as "trade union education" rather than workers' education. Everything else was simply a development controlled by the same partnership, in consultation (where appropriate) with a member of the university's extension department: i.e. studies on co-operation, labour research, cultural activities in general. There must be few institutes anywhere in the world where the logic of co-management had gone so far and which so closely resembled the French labour institutes in Strasbourg and Paris.

A second group includes two varieties, represented by the Jamaican Trade Union Education Institute and the Labour Relations Institute of the University of Puerto Rico. There are three common features: the combination of workers' education and management education under the heading of industrial relations; the high proportion of full-time residential courses; and the system of management. For reasons that are different in each case, workers' education predominates. The fact that the institute is attached to the university extension department in Jamaica and to the College of Social Sciences in Puerto Rico does not play any great part in the differences between them. The character of each institute is more affected by the fact that one of them has programmes for Latin America, while the other works hand in hand with centres for social work, communications and creative arts education. The greatest difference between them arises from the state of social relations in each island, i.e. in Jamaica management is willing to be trained in a trade union education institute, while in Puerto Rico efforts are made to keep the two activities completely separate.

A third group contains the institutes or centres where the main aim is not workers' education or labour relations but development, adult education or "social promotion". Nevertheless, each one is organised in such a way that workers' education is supposed to be a separate section with some degree of autonomy. The difficulty is to know how far, in each institute, this is actually so.

On the one hand these may be a specialised centre (like the Asian Labour Education Centre in the Philippines) organically linked with study and research centres on local administration, planning, small-scale industries, for joint work in relation to development. The regional universities of the country are associated with the work, under the aegis of the central university and of international technical assistance programmes. The unions naturally play the main part in the workers' education centre. They are also associated, together with many other groups, in development studies; however, it is only when these studies mainly or exclusively concern unionists that the unions are likely to have the final say and the power of closer supervision.

On the other hand (as in Kenya), workers' education may form part of the work of an institute for adult education, subdivided according to its different types of activity, e.g. residential courses at different levels (including courses leading to a certificate), correspondence courses, decentralised extra-mural studies. The result is that workers' education has to fight for its place in each of the subdivisions. Thus courses or residential programmes reserved for unionists are required in addition to the programmes addressed to a number of socio-occupational categories, although it does not appear that, under the rules of the institutes, the unions have any special privilege.

In a further variant (at the University of Dakar) the workers' education centre comes under an economic and social promotion institute. This centre aims at providing full-time residential programmes for fairly high-level union officers, primarily in Senegal but also for officials from other tropical African countries who wish to participate. Those responsible for the centre are quite open about the difficulties of expansion caused by its subordination to an institute which is too taken up with other activities to give much attention to the workers' education side; and they are anxious to be separated and to be able to work in a full-scale labour institute.

Prospects of Increasing University Workers' Education Activities

This tentative classification of current experiments must not hide the fact that, on the scale of the developing world, the total number of workers' education ventures is relatively small. Is it reasonable to hope that the universities will devote a regular part of their activities to workers' education? An encouraging sign is the growing realisation in some of them that there is a specific role that they could play in relation to the development of the global society. The University of Nairobi has expressed this very clearly: by assuming responsibility for large-scale adult education, it aims to contribute to bridging the gap between the educated elite and the majority of the people, raising the level of labour, serving the needs of the whole nation, helping the less fortunate to become full-time students, providing teachers with the contacts needed for a good understanding of the environment as a basis for effective teaching, and keeping the public informed so as to ensure adequate popular support.

But will workers' education share in this revaluation of adult education? Or will it be diluted into a type of education unconneted with the social origin of the participants and with their specific purpose in studying? This will depend on the persuasiveness of all those who believe both in workers' education and in the university's responsibility to contribute to workers' education whatever it is able to do most advantageously. It will be up to all of these - unionists, university people, high-level civil servants - after overcoming their fears, to put forth their arguments strongly enough to overcome reluctance and prejudice.

There are three main points which should be fully stressed for this purpose. First, that the university, all things considered, is the only educational body able to take over from the government and obtain the continued co-operation of the different groups concerned in managing the present programmes and developing new ones. Second, that the new universities, after losing their obsession with the "standards" and example of their predecessors in industrialised countries (which are themselves in the midst of a crisis of renewal), now realise that a good deal of their prestige will depend on whether they are capable of achieving permanent education in the different branches. Third, that the university is the only body able to make the ideological and political choices inherent in any type of adult education compatible with development of scientific knowledge, strengthening of the individual's critical powers, and the spread of genuine civic virtues.

While these arguments make the case for permanent education in the university a credible one, they do not necessarily do the same for workers' education. In the developing countries, it must be admitted that, in taking permanent education as the aim, there is a risk of workers' education being absorbed. But as this is probably the way things will go, this risk must be kept constantly in mind and workers' education must be ready at all times to defend its rights and specific requirements. Apart from this, it should not interfere; if the need which it fills is part and parcel of development, its future will in any case not disappoint the hopes at present founded on what is already being done in the more dynamic universities.

Unresolved Questions

This will not happen, however, unless answers are found for the questions that are still unsettled. To discuss them all would practically involve repeating this whole report, especially as regards the developing countries; for nearly every one of the problems mentioned in a general context is liable to affect the developing countries - in their particular way, of course, but this way will not necessarily differ in all respects from the way in which the industrially-advanced countries have been affected by the problems. The present concluding section will simply attempt to separate those questions which are known to arise in practice from those which can now be regarded as unreal.

Assuming that university people have lost their fear of lowering their university's scholarly reputation by engaging in such non-traditional activities as workers' education, how can those who take up teaching in workers' education before they reach the top levels in teaching or research be assured that their careers will not suffer? The continuing enthusiasm of the teaching team despite the passage of time, and their ability to take the initiative without worrying about the reactions of the university authorities on whom promotion depends, will be determined by the answer to this very human and far from petty question. In some of the existing institutes all over the world, there is everything needed for success but nothing positive is ever done, simply because this question has never been settled since no one wishes to raise it openly.

There is a further question which, unlike the preceding one, is frequently raised by the unions (and perhaps by the universities), though it has its paradoxical side. When a programme is initiated, resources are usually inadequate, and they are quite happy for the government to give the orders as well as providing the funds. Once the programme is operating normally, it is a common occurrence for the unions, even if they share the government's view of priority for development, to become impatient and ill at ease with the government's exercise of responsibilities that they could reasonably undertake themselves or delegate to a body under an agreement giving neither side the upper hand. When this happens, what is the best course for the State to adopt? By what process and to what extent should it unload its responsibilities in workers' education? Should it help the unions to overcome their fears concerning the universities, and convince them that a transfer of responsibilities to the universities is the best solution and one which avoids any loss of face?

As the unions' freedom to make decisions in the interests of the workers is most prized by them when their policy is very close to that of the government, they will regard the independence of the university not as a luxury but as one of the strongest reasons for allowing it to take over. The question then is, how to combine this independence with the equally necessary machinery for co-operation between the parties, including the government?

This leads to the question of organisational structure: is the choice limited to the two patterns that are current in industrially advanced countries, i.e. staff plus advisory committee or a system of co-management? Or are conditions in developing countries such that a third pattern should be invented? If so, should this third pattern be an entirely new form or should it be based on the form of a private association (which while very useful at the beginning fairly quickly ceases to be viable) but ensuring that the two groups most directly concerned have the upper hand, i.e. the university and the unions.

Is it essential that the central concern of the body set up to deal with workers' education should be with "labour" or can it acceptably be made part of an institute primarily concerned with development, with adult education and "social promotion" or with industrial relations? If it is a parallel activity to other branches of permanent education, would it be practically or in principle out of the question for the university team and the unions together to claim the leadership of the whole? In any case, what minimum degree of organisational and operational autonomy must be given to workers' education within the framework of the university body taking charge of it?

Where the unions are sufficiently well established to devote part of their efforts to membership education, how should the activities be divided up between them and the university body (not excluding a private association of the Indian Central Board type, if appropriate)? Since the existing resources in the universities in each individual country may be rather limited, is it possible that the universities of two or more countries could combine efforts? Or would it be better for one of them, in agreement with the others and by including representatives of the others on the governing body, to decentralise so that its branch activities range more widely and become more diversified on the international scale?

To return to individual countries, if several universities (and not only one) are asked to undertake workers' education, how are their activities to be co-ordinated? Should they try to bring their programmes as close as possible to the locations of the enterprises, or at least to the largest and most modern of them? If so, should they follow the easiest line and reduce their programmes to training in industrial relations, despite its embryonic character? Or should they at all events and at all levels subordinate relations techniques to study of development problems as a whole?

With the word "development" we come to the factor that dominates everything else, including workers' education, and this raises the following questions: is it not the duty of the institutes to reach first of all those union officers who represent the confederations or industrial unions on the various joint bodies, including those for development planning? Should they not pay special attention to transmitting teaching ability so that those who have participated in courses can pass on knowledge to the rank and file and themselves act as educators?

In so far as workers' education in a university deals with development, should it not face the political and ideological problems involved and reduce the temperature of discussion so that they can be studied scientifically and without exaggeration? To do this effectively, would it not be wise for the institutes, when participants are sufficiently advanced, to link study of development techniques with a general study of economics and the elements of political science that are needed for a proper understanding of the impact of development on the future of the country as a whole?

Is it not desirable also to include, in connection with labour studies, topics which relate to a worker's life as a whole, i.e. his non-working life as well? If so, which topics?

As regards the relationship between workers' education and research, is it not possible - in view of the difficulty of persuading university teaching authorities to take the first step - to begin with a labour studies research programme in the hope of eventually inducing researchers with recognised scholarly attainments to apply their expertise in workers' education? And will it not be easier for such researchers to succeed if they can obtain influential support for the university from government circles and the mass organisations, and so finally convince the university authorities?

APPENDIX III

BASIC QUESTIONS ON UNIVERSITIES AND WORKERS' EDUCATION
(Discussion Paper)

SECTION I. UNIVERSITIES AND WORKERS' EDUCATION

It is a happy coincidence that this Symposium should be meeting in 1973, the centenary year of the first traceable courses of adult education to be formally organised by a British university. In 1873 Cambridge University gave in to the pressures from James Stuart (who had already had inspiring experiences of lecture-series with workers' audiences in the north of England) and organised three 24-lecture courses, in Derby, Leicester and Nottingham. In the last city, the course was at the express request of the Nottingham Trades Council (i.e. the co-ordinating body for all trade unions in the locality). It is, therefore, probably not a coincidence that the subsequently established University of Nottingham can boast today of a substantial programme, not only of general adult education but also of more specific workers' education.

It should not be thought, however, that the history of university assistance to the education of workers has been one of unbroken progress since these early signs of interest in adult education in Britain in the 1870s, or the even earlier commitment of the American Land Grant Act (1862) to set up at least one college in each state "in order to promote liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life". Unfortunately, university involvement in general adult education and particularly in workers' education is still restricted to a relatively small number of countries and of universities; and even where it exists, it must be admitted that it tends usually to occupy a low position on the list of priorities.

Nevertheless, it is the conviction of the ILO that there is now an increasing awareness of the vital importance of workers' education; and that, for a variety of reasons, the climate is right for a careful appraisal of past achievements, present programmes and future possibilities in this field of university assistance to workers' education. It should, however, be made perfectly clear at the outset that the main responsibility for the major decisions in workers' education must remain, as always, with the trade unions and other workers' organisations.

The climate is right, in the global sense, for such an appraisal because, in the developing countries, universities are rightly seen as instruments for national economic and social development and therefore any contribution they can make to the increased effectiveness of organised labour is welcomed. It is more and more widely appreciated that economic growth depends upon the conscious and willing participation of the industrial and rural workers in the development plans of the new nations. The climate is right in the industrialised countries, in that the role, if not the existence, of the university is heavily under question and there is everywhere a general reappraisal of what a university should be and should do in a modern society.

University Interest

This ferment in the university world and the need to re-examine the social contribution of the universities made itself plain in the fifth General Conference of the International Association of Universities (Montreal, 1970), at which "The University and the Needs of Contemporary Society" was one of the two major themes selected for discussion. In the intense debates regarding the "concept of the university", adult education was one of the four questions arousing great interest.

It is true that specific attention could not be lavished upon workers' education in a general discussion of this kind; but it is heartening to note that in the more specialised Conference Paper for the second World Conference of the International Council for University Adult Education (also Montreal, 1970) on the subject of "The Changing Role of Universities in Adult Education", trade union leadership is named as one of the "numerous and various professional fields" in which the universities have a general responsibility for continued professional education. This same paper, however, repeats our cautionary note: "Yet it would be unwarranted optimism to assume that all is well. In thos universities which do devote part of their total effort to the continued education of adults, it is usually a small part and one which is often regarded as of secondary importance" - adding that in many universities the attitude is still completely negative.

This is a salutary warning: but at the same time one can take heart from the increasing number recently of high-level statements of university interest and involvement in adult and workers' education. For example, Dr. J.N. Karanja, Vice-Chancellor of Nairobi University, said in June 1972: "We regret the idea of an ivory tower for our University. I believe we are an integral part of the national traditions and aspirations .... Non-formal education is perhaps one of the most 'unsystematic' of all systems, yet in most developing countries its role in generating skills, influencing attitudes and moulding values is of equal, if not greater importance than that of formal schooling." Then in the "category of programmes for development of employed manpower" Dr. Karanja specifically mentioned "labour education conducted by trade unions", before going on to "accept an explicit and intentional as opposed to an implicit or incidental role in the immediate task of national development".

The same basic attitude is to be found in the statement of Dr. S.P. Lopez, President of the University of the Philippines, when opening the ILO consultation meeting on "Asian Universities and Workers' Education" in Manila in March 1973: "Universities should not only promote individual intellectual growth and scientific research; they must see to it that the knowledge thus gained is applied to the development of social institutions".

These encouraging but disparate quotations should be placed in the context of the world-wide ferment of university students and staff - particularly regarding "social relevance" and "democratisation" of the universities and of education as a whole. This in total is certainly leading to the world-wide rejection of any "ivory tower" concept of the university. As Professor Clark Kerr, former President of the University of California, has said: "It is at the peril of our universities as well as our society that we seek a return to former isolation". The scene is set for dynamic changes if there are genuine needs and clearly-expressed demands.

Trade Union Interest

As stated above, there would be no point in pursuing this subject further if the trade unions in general were not interested in further development of workers' education or were not willing in any case to co-operate with the universities in this field. The former certainly is not and never has been the case; but it must be admitted that from time to time trade union leaders have expressed doubts about accepting educational assistance from the universities.

These doubts will be analysed in section III. They do not seem, however, to be general or typical in many countries and the great majority of responsible trade union leaders would agree with President Meany's statement in the AFL-CIO News of 19 December 1970: "It is clearer every day that the labour movement has important work to do on behalf of the entire American society and that it needs all the help it can get from universities and elsewhere".

The same basic attitude (with more chance for elaboration of necessary conditions) was taken by the participants in the Meeting of ILO Consultants on Workers' Education held in Geneva in 1971. The participants, all experienced trade union leaders and/or workers' educators, stated, as indicated in paragraph 40 of their report, that "It is hoped that the ILO will promote and organise contacts and exchanges of views between university authorities and trade union leaders interested in developing the role of universities in workers' education".[1]

Again the ILO Seminar on the establishment and development of national workers' education programmes in Africa, held in Nairobi in 1969, was unequivocal in this respect. The report of that Seminar indicates in paragraph 146 that "The contribution of internal and especially of extra-mural (university) lecturers at the higher levels of workers' education and in the training of worker-teachers was stressed ...".[2] Similar ILO regional seminars in Latin America and Asia reached similar conclusions. Trade union interest is also world-wide and is growing.

Government Interest

Since most universities obtain much of their finance from the national governments, progress could be held back by hostile or apathetic governmental attitudes. On the contrary, however, some governments have shown for many years their appreciation of the importance of workers' education by approving the expenditure upon it of public money, often channelled through the universities. Britain and the United States can claim to be pioneers in this respect; but by 1966 the Action Plan of Caraballede drawn up at the Second Inter-American Conference of Ministers of Labour recommended that the universities of Latin America add to their curricula courses on human resources administration, labour statistics and economics, labour-management relations and collective bargaining, social security, employment, investment and other labour subjects within the framework of economic and social development.

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[1] WED/MC.2/D.9

[2] WED/S.15/D.15

This growing awareness of the close correlation between the whole field of high-level labour studies and national economic growth and social progress was illustrated many times by governmental-written comments in connection with the "In-Depth Review of the ILO's Workers' Education Programme" carried out by the ILO Governing Body at its 188th, 189th and 190th Sessions from November 1972 to April 1973. The many contributions of workers' education were adumbrated by the Governments of Australia, Colombia, Finland, Ghana, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Romania, Tunisia and USSR; whilst the Belgian Government stressed that workers' education "should be considered as a national and social responsibility". The United Kingdom Government's formal submission, in supporting the proposed emphasis on developing countries, made the following specific point: "Since many trade unions in developing countries have neither the money nor the staff to operate a continuing workers' education programme, the possibilities of securing the active participation of existing educational institutions (in particular universities and polytechnics which have departments of adult education) should be fully explored". The earlier oral comments by the Government of the United Kingdom also linked the promotion of university collaboration in workers' education with the UNESCO concept of life-long education.

UNESCO Interest

Perhaps the major contribution of UNESCO to educational thinking in recent years has been the growing realisation that for the modern society there can be no "terminal education", no ending at primary, secondary or even tertiary level: that education must be "permanent" or life-long. This new approach has been forcefully incorporated in Edgar Faure's report of the UNESCO International Commission on the Development of Education: "Learning To Be" (UNESCO/Harrap 1972). The fundamental diagnosis and suggested cure is very relevant to the theme of this Symposium.

This report says (on page 69): "Education suffers basically from the gap between its content and the living experience of its pupils, between the systems of values it preaches and the goals set up by society ... Link education to life, associate it with concrete goals, establish a close relationship between society and economy, invent or rediscover an education system that fits its surroundings - surely this is where the solution must be sought". This linking of education to life is to be aided by "a rapid development of adult education, in school and out of school .... Step by step progress is not enough: what is required is a giant leap forward" (page 206). The report's references to universities in this new educational world are all in favour of greater openness and greater social relevance. Approval is warmly given to such experiments as the US "University without Walls" (page 187) and the Vincennes University Centre where "two-thirds of the (12,000) students are wage earners and about a half do not have the baccalauréat", thus doing "away with the disembodied, abstract atmosphere in education" (page 201).

Such views are also entirely in keeping with the Final Report of the UNESCO Third International Conference on Adult Education (Tokyo 1972), which said (inter alia): "Learning is life-long: the education of adults and of children and youth are inseparable. but to be an effective agent of change, education must engage the active commitment and participation of adults ...." "Those adults who most need education have been largely neglected - they are the forgotten people. Thus the major task of adult education during the Second Development Decade of the United Nations is to seek out and serve these forgotten people." (Final Conclusions, points a, c and d.) "Workers' education and trade union and co-operative education should be promoted. The main thrust of adult education in the 1970s in developing programmes should be to meet the educational needs of traditionally under-privileged groups in many societies." (Summary and Conclusions A.I(b).) "The Conference believed that the role of post-secondary institutions, most notably perhaps in the Third World, should be widened in response to adult needs. The universities should reappraise their relationship with society. They should to a greater extent serve also adults without a formal education and should merge more with the community as a whole" (paragraph 59).

But UNESCO has to deal with the whole field of adult education. The specific and detailed problems of workers' education are often not examined: and even the 13-page index of "Learning To Be" has no single reference to "trade unions", or to "workers' education" as understood by workers' organisations and by the ILO. The general climate, as we have said, is right: but the ILO has a unique and special role to play.

ILO Interest

This is not the place to review the history of the over-all commitment of the ILO to workers' education; it has been shown clearly that the founding fathers of the Organisation were concerned with providing workers with "facilities for training", with "vocational opportunity" and with "adequate facilities for recreation and culture".[1] In the International Labour Reviews of 1921 to 1923 there were articles on workers' education in Italy, Great Britain, Belgium, Sweden and Switzerland; and these articles provided a background to the struggles for a rest-day each week and a "constructive eight-hour policy". Relationships between the ILO and the various workers' and trade union education bodies developed, with the continued personal interest of the Director-General Albert Thomas who, right up to his death in 1932, was working on his dream of an International Workers' University.

The early negotiations on such a university, the effects of the Great Depression and the Second World War and the subsequent reconstruction efforts led to the 1950 Resolution of the International Labour Conference, which called for "all appropriate measures to promote opportunities for workers to be educated in order to enable them to participate more effectively in the various workers' movements and to fulfil more adequately their trade union and related functions". This resolution paved the way for the establishment in 1956 of the ILO's Workers' Education Programme with its own financial allocation. The present Workers' Education Branch, responsible for convening this Symposium, has therefore now had some seventeen years of experience in this field, including some efforts carried out in collaboration with appropriate university bodies in various regions.

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[1] Albert GUIGUI: The Contribution of the ILO to Workers' Education: 1919-1970, Geneva, ILO, 1972.

There has been substantial progress but the tasks are limitless: it was therefore natural that the 1971 Meeting of ILO Consultants on Workers' Education should again look for additional support from other sources besides the trade unions. The Meeting, after claiming that "workers' education is therefore an indispensable and integral part of an educational system geared to social and economic development", then recommended that: "The ILO should not only promote and assist trade unions and workers' education bodies in this work but also solicit and secure the understanding and support of governments, employers and other sectors of society ...". "One of the many channels in which public funds may flow should be the development of workers' education through collaboration between the universities and trade unions and workers' education bodies".[1]

The purpose of this recommendation had in fact already been embodied in section (c) of the resolution on workers' education at the 1970 International Labour Conference. Action by the Office included the research of Professor Marcel David and the articles in the International Labour Review[2] by him, Mr. Lawson and Dr. Levine - all of which are now available as background papers for this Symposium on "The Role of Universities in Workers' Education".

SECTION II. CONCEPTS, DEFINITIONS AND FRAMEWORK FOR CONSIDERATION

The Idea of a University

The use of Cardinal Newman's famous title as this section heading is not intended to imply approval of his particular view of the role of a university: rather it is an attempt to avoid too precise a definition of the word itself. Such an attempt would seem inadvisable on at least two counts: first, there are a number of "quasi-universities" (e.g. Polytechnics) which either already make or could make a helpful contribution to workers' education; secondly, there has never before been a period of such dynamic changes in the universities. Any definition fixed upon now could well be unsatisfactory in a short time.

However, a brief glance at the history of universities may be useful in identifying certain basic characteristics and also in underlining the fact that quite radical changes have occurred in the past, even if slowly. The "ancestors of the university" may perhaps be seen in the Brahmin "schools" of philosophy and religion (which however did not ignore mathematics, history and astronomy) and in the "schools" of classical Greece and Rome which also followed a broad curriculum. Subsequently, a specialisation and narrowing of interests can perhaps be seen in, for example, the Beirut School of Law (founded in the third century), in the Salerno "studium" of medicine in the ninth century, in the Al-Azhar Mosque (the centre of Moslem learning from the tenth century onwards) and then in the eleventh and twelfth century Christian "studia", to which the name "university" was first applied. These last were the so-called

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[1] Op. cit.

[2] Vol. 101, No. 1; Vol. 101, No. 2; Vol. 102, No. 5.

"universitates magistrorum et scholarium", whose existence was regularised by a decree of the third Lateran Council in 1179, that every cathedral should have a Master in charge of all its ecclesiastical scholars.

The early European universities developed as institutions of higher learning, with the power to grant degrees given by a licence (at first from the Pope but later from the relevant Emperor or King). "University" denoted the whole community of teachers and students at a particular place, enjoying the rights of independent administration. As Professor Janne has expressed it: "The emphasis was thus placed on the transmission and, at best, the elucidation ... of a legacy of 'constituted truth' rather than on research, on the universal and cultural nature of knowledge rather than on its specialization and its practical uses, on the autonomy (going as far as extra-territoriality) of the university rather than on its role in society and on the services it could perform for society. These features - universality, community, immunity - have left a lasting imprint (to varying degrees, it is true) on the very idea of the university. And this is the case whatever may have been the evolution or the revolution in some universities in modern times. We have here a tradition - with its own concomitant style - which influences any such institution, even a new one, as soon as it lays claim to the title of university."

Even so, the immunity from the world outside the university was generally less than would perhaps appear to the modern eye. Certainly, by the thirteenth century some universities were already operating "faculties" of (for example) medicine, law and philosophy. It is also perhaps relevant to the theme of this Symposium that the students of law at Bologna University were "mostly of mature age, often being men already filling office in some department of Church and State". Further it is claimed that the University of Paris, which by the thirteenth century had developed its new emphasis on logic (in addition to theology, medicine and the arts), illustrates in these early years "the fact that universities arose in response to new needs".

However, for a long period most of the existing and the new universities tended to concentrate upon consolidating their position and institutionalising their administration. It required the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation to generate new interests and new attitudes, including the study of exact sciences in some universities by the seventeenth century. But it was the Industrial Revolution which proved, with increasing momentum throughout the nineteenth century, that economic, social and political changes were bound to be reflected (slowly) in the universities. Particularly in those countries which were industrialised early, there was a widening of university entry, an increase in the numbers of students and of universities (sometimes located in the new industrial cities), a new concentration upon scientific research and an introduction of entirely new academic studies. These were naturally in the field of technology and the applied sciences, including "applied agriculture" in the United States. Society was impinging upon the university!

In fact, the external pressures of the last 200 years have forced radical rethinking of any university isolationism all over the world. The Napoleanic reforms in France (and influencing a number of other European countries) overrode the autonomy of the university with the purpose of providing the professional élite necessary for the State. Partly as a reaction to the Napoleonic concept, the influence of Von Humboldt in the German states, while stressing academic freedom, emphasised the essential unity of scientific research and the teaching function. The American Land-Grant Colleges were created "as an expression of the egalitarianism and pragmatism that went with the spirit of the frontier". London University (with its Charter of 1836 allowing for affiliated colleges in Britain and its colonies) was created as an antidote to the exclusiveness of Oxford and Cambridge. It soon proved to be a valuable progenitor for the "red-brick universities" in the new cities (sometimes developing from the early extension centres) and for the new foundations in India, Canada and other Commonwealth countries. The same period saw a growth of new institutes of technology, polytechnics, etc. in many countries, sometimes to cater for students at sub-university level but more frequently to meet specialised subject demands which the more traditional universities were ignoring. With the twentieth century, the new growth in the social sciences (including economics, public administration and business studies) was as noticeable in the older universities as in the newer polytechnics.

Finally, the emergence of socialist countries since 1917 has taken the Napoleonic view to a logical conclusion, in which the universities have no claim to autonomy but are completely integrated into society, playing their part as one factor of production in the state development plans. Such an approach has also appealed to some governments in the Third World. Resources there are so limited that studies which do not have some direct relevance to social and economic development may be seen as unjustifiable luxuries.

It cannot be claimed that all these changes of the last thousand years have been accepted easily and without resistance from established universities; but they proved to be "in the logic of history". The widening curricula, the expansion of enrolments, the stress on the utilitarian functions of the university and on its social relevance - all these are trends which do not seem at all likely to stand still at this point. The "quantitative explosion" is now affecting the Third World, and quite apart from the whole question of "student ferment", universities throughout the world will more and more have to demonstrate their social relevance. For the modern university, "immunity", if still at all feasible, cannot imply isolation; and "community" must be an outward-looking rather than an introverted concept. In these circumstances, static or rigid definitions of a university would be totally out of place.

It is therefore suggested that for this Symposium our criteria of a university should be based broadly on the following features. It should be an institution of "higher learning" (a subjective term), with functions of teaching, examination and research in several or many subjects. It may have the actual word "university" in its title, but equally it may be a polytechnic institute, a college of advanced technology, a higher academy, a community college, etc. Conversely, an institution with "university" in its title might nevertheless be excluded from discussion on the basis of the above criteria. For example, certain "popular universities" may be excellent institutions for workers' and general adult education but they do not conform to all our criteria. The Workers' Academies at Hamburg and Frankfurt, on the other hand, may warrant inclusion, on the grounds of their academic standards, examination and research functions, and their organic relations with main universities. It would, however, be a pity to waste time on "jurisdictional disputes"!

Workers' Education

The time of the Symposium is also too short to be lavished on attempting a universally-acceptable definition of workers' education. It is hoped that we may agree that in general workers' education is designed to develop the workers' understanding of labour, social and economic problems, whether as trade unionists or as individual citizens. Since, however, we are concerned with the institutional relationships between the universities and workers, we shall naturally need to focus upon activities of the trade unions and workers' educational bodies rather than upon any special arrangements for individual workers. We should perhaps not spend too much time upon features such as mature-age entry to universities, or general adult education classes which a few individual workers may attend, or upon courses on labour studies run for normal internal university students - valuable as these schemes may be. Our main concentration should probably be upon university education aimed primarily at groups of "worker-students" mainly sponsored by trade unions and workers' educational bodies. Our attention would be focused on curricula which include such subjects as industrial relations, labour and industrial law, trade unions in labour history, and a whole range of background economic and social studies. In this way, we are stressing the commitment to the collective improvement of workers' participation in a dynamic society, which is the basis of the ILO's concern in this whole field.

The Range of University-Workers' Education Relationships

Even if these broad definitions and working concepts are agreed, we are still left with a very complex field of study. Perhaps this may be simplified to some extent by the chart showing a "theoretical spectrum" of university interest and involvement in workers' education. (It is hoped that this attempt at categorisation may evoke examples and comparative reactions from the Symposium participants.)

As will be seen, in general the degree of involvement increases as one moves from left to right on the chart (although some qualifications need to be made regarding that generalisation). On the left, with an "interest-rating" of 0, we have universities whose approach can be summarised as neutral or negative, that is showing either complete apathy or, worse still, hostility. This negative view would be consonant with the views of Dr. Jacques Barzun of Columbia University whose book, "The American University" (Haper, 1968) attributes the problems that beset American universities to an over-involvement in the outside world. "What was once an educational institution has been made to bear the strains of a public agency. No wonder it has succumbed!"

Fortunately a "zero-rating" would be justified for many fewer universities in 1973 than would have been the case 25 years ago. Many universities which had no interest in adult or workers' education at that time have moved now into our next category of "slight interest" and some into even greater involvement. "Slight interest" may, of course, show itself in different ways, of which two examples are given in the chart. Willingness to admit exceptional adults to the regular university courses without the normal entry examination qualifications is already a sign of weakening resistance. Permitting, or even encouraging individual staff members to assist workers' education programmes in a casual and occasional way, as teachers or researchers, is another sign. The organisation of a "university week" in an industrial area or arranging for groups of students to act as teachers of adults could be other signs (as in Louvain University of Zaire): but in none of these instances is there a serious ongoing involvement in workers' education.

This distinction becomes more discernible in our next category ("2-rating") where some regular relationship exists between the university and either general adult education or even workers' education groups. In some cases this may comprise a special linking between a university and a permanent adult/workers' education institution, perhaps combining teaching-help with some system whereby the courses undertaken in the "junior institution" can form credits for entry and/or studies at a university. Such an arrangement has developed, for example between the University of Helsinki and the two Finnish advanced workers' colleges of Kiljava and Kauniainen; and between the University of Wales and Coleg Harlech, an independent residential college, providing courses of one or two years' duration. Another interesting case is that of the Labour College of Canada, established in 1963 by the Canadian Labour Congress as an independent institution to give "basic studies in the humanities and social sciences, as well as specialised instruction in the theory and practice of trade unionism", but having material and teaching links with McGill University and the University of Montreal. Such examples show a real involvement of the university in work being carried out in specially designed independent institutions.

THEORETICAL SPECTRUM OF UNIVERSITY INTEREST IN / INVOLVEMENT IN / COMMITMENT TO) WORKERS' EDUCATION

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TOTAL APATHY OR EVEN HOSTILITY	SLIGHT INTEREST	MODERATE INTEREST IN W.E. (OR IN ADULT EDUCATION INCLUDING W.E.)	KEEN INTEREST ADULT EDUCATION THUS INCLUDING W.E.	REGULAR EXTERNAL PROGRAMMES FOR W.E.	REGULAR INTERNAL W.E. PROGRAMMES
May still prevail in some/many universities	Shown e.g. in a) special schemes for individual workers to enter university and/or	Shown e.g. in a) occasional short courses of adult education/W.E. e.g. West Germany and/or	Shown in serious regular programmes of adult education in which workers participate.	Special focus on programmes for trade unionists and workers held outside university.	May be in separate "institutes" or part of wider departments (e.g. business studies). May be all-year or sporadic; but involve regular commitment of university staff and funds.
	b) occasional/casual teaching and research assistance	b) special relationship with workers' colleges re teaching help accreditation etc.	e.g. British and C.W. universities (extra-mural pattern). Many US universities (concerned with workers individually and not collectively)	e.g. many American and British universities Dakar (IPESAN) (concerned with workers collectively)	Often linked to research: sometimes adult education
e.g. most Indian universities. Some German universities	e.g. some West German, Scandinavian and Latin American universities	e.g. University of Wales Montreal/McGill Yugoslavia Finland/Frankfurt			e.g. France (Strasbourg etc.) University of Philippines (ALEC). USA examples. Ibadan (Nigeria). LSE (UK). Ruskin College, Oxford. Korea Labour Education Research Institute
0	1	2	3	4	5

NOTES: 1) Some universities could qualify for inclusion in more than one category, since the categories are arbitrary divisions.

2) Whilst, in general, university involvement increases from left to right, a thorough programme in Category 4 (or even 3) could represent greater involvement than a sporadic programme in Category 5. No value-judgments are implied in the classification.

A different type of involvement which could also be included in this category of "moderate interest" can be seen where universities begin to organise short courses at regular intervals for groups of workers or of adults in general. This is more than the casual type of arrangement mentioned in paragraph 36; but one hopes that it is only a temporary stage on the road to greater involvement. This was the point at which many British universities found themselves just before the First World War; but the famous "1919 Report" of the Adult Education Committee of the British Ministry of Reconstruction pushed them firmly into the next category (our rating 3). As Professor Waller has said: "This Committee did make one proposal which had never been made before and which has had such remarkable consequences that it may be regarded historically as the most important part of the Report. It was that universities should establish 'Departments of Extra-Mural Adult Education' with academic heads who should be members of Senates. As a result of this recommendation, all the English and Welsh Universities during the inter-war years developed extra-mural or adult education departments with full-time staff, operating programmes usually in collaboration with the Workers' Educational Association and sometimes with trade unions and other voluntary organisations. The exact arrangements, the extent and type of the programmes and the degree of concentration specifically upon workers' education varied greatly from place to place. Subsequently, many of the new Commonwealth universities and university colleges set up in the post-war years copied to varying extents this system, thereby also qualifying for our "3-rating".

The inter-war years also saw marked increase in the external activities of many US universities, some of whom began to arrange specific programmes for workers' groups, in addition to general extension programmes.The University of Wisconsin School for Workers and the Rutgers Labour Institute of the State University of New Jersey date from this period. Although such pioneer ventures usually started with modest activities they paved the way for more permanent internal institutions after the New Deal and the Second World War. Kerrison and Levine, for example, state specifically in "Labor Leadership Education" (page 7) that the sixteen years of successful experience with the Rutgers resident summer Labor Institue led to whole-hearted trade union support when it was proposed just after the war to establish the Rutgers Institute of Management and Labor Relations. (Or using the terms of our "Theoretical Spectrum" a "3-rated institution" prepared the way for a "5-rated institution".)

There is no readily discernible pattern of progression in these matters, although _in general_, when consolidation occurs, perhaps it is more common for French, Russian and US examples to lead to the establishment of a permanent department or institute within the university; whilst British examples tend to move into our 4-rating category - of regular university extra-mural programmes, specifically aimed at workers' groups. The British University day-release courses provide a typical example of this latter category, and this type of provision was increased rapidly in the 1960s; Universities Council for Adult Education reports year after year produced such phrases as: "The number of day-release classes for trade unionists (in particular shop stewards) has shown a significant increase in recent years .... It is clear that many departments attach special importance to providing an opportunity for manual and industrial workers who are able to profit from university extra-mural courses" (1961-62). "The growing momentum throughout Great Britain of these day-release courses for trade unionists that is one of the salient features of more recent years" (1962-63). "There was a continued expansion in special provision of various types of courses for industrial workers" (1963-64).

This development of day-release courses seems not to have been as rapid in the Commonwealth countries as general extra-mural education was in the 1950s. Whilst the Ibadan extra-mural department has run evening classes specifically for trade unionists, its most successful work with the unions has been the annual residential 2-3 months' course run in the University itself, with a generous grant from the Ministry of Labour. Similarly, Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone finds it easier to run one or two residential courses at the College each year for the Workers' Educational Association which it helped to create. In Jamaica, a similar pattern emerged with the creation in 1963 of the UWI Trade Union Education Institute, which runs some evening and weekend classes but also a one-month leadership training course. In Tanzania, where the normal union leadership training is provided by a special sub-university level residential college, the University Institute of Adult Education has this year reserved six of its thirty places on its adult education diploma course for trade unionists who will become full-time workers' educators.

The Asian Labor Education Center in Manila and the Puerto Rico Labor Relations Institute both seem to resemble US prototypes much more closely than the workers' education programmes in some new countries resemble models in the United Kingdom. So too the excellent general adult programme developed at Nsukka University with US aid is closely modelled on American Land-Grant College lines; and the 3-weeks Institute run every year by the Meiji Gakuin University of Tokyo for the Japanese International Metalworkers Federation resembles closely many of the American "Summer Labor Institutes".

All the examples cited from the developing countries qualify for our "5-rating" in that they constitute regular workers' education programmes, provided within the university itself; but they do have significant differences with some of the programmes in European countries, like those of the Strasbourg Institut de Travail, the Workers' Education Centre of Paris-Sceaux, the one-year London School of Economics course or the two-year Oxford University Diploma course of Ruskin College.

Whether these one- and two-year courses are too long is a matter for debate at the Symposium, for there is a powerful school of thought which fears the effect of separating workers from their comrades and working surroundings for more than a few weeks. The theory is that this leads in many cases to a weakening of loyalties and a "creaming-off" process, which could in the end deprive the working-class of its natural leadership. Professor David has reported that in France the trend in recent years has been towards shorter courses, of two weeks' duration. It is these misgivings which have deterred us from creating an extra "6-rating" category for the longer courses. From the viewpoint of duration, they are more intensive courses: from Professor David's standpoint of "collective promotion of working-class interest", they are not perhaps so impressive. Again different lessons may be learnt from the experience of the USSR with its courses at the Moscow Central Trade Union School lasting up to five years (admittedly partly through correspondence).

This controversy regarding course-length serves to underline the points made in footnotes to the "Spectrum-chart" - viz. that the categories are arbitrary subdivisions and that the exact position on the spectrum does not necessarily imply any value-judgment concerning the programme. Before value-judgments are made, the Symposium may wish to examine some of the over-all arguments for and against university activities in the field of workers' education, and also to consider some pertinent basic questions.

SECTION III. SOME DOUBTS, OBJECTIONS AND DIFFICULTIES

It should be clear from sections I and II that there are many individuals and agencies who now see some advantages in a university involvement in workers' education. However, it would be a hindrance rather than a help to further progress in that direction to ignore or minimise the arguments against such involvement. These are many and varied (and on occasions contradictory), but nevertheless they should be faced frankly - and sometimes noted carefully.

From the trade union viewpoint, there is frequently a deep-seated distrust of the university as an "establishment institution", which in some way will distort the education or perhaps subvert the students from their early loyalties. Such suspicion is probably inevitable where trade unions, rightly or wrongly, see themselves as being in a defensive position in a class-divided society. It goes back a long way and can certainly be seen as early as 1823 in an article written by Thomas Hodgskin in the Mechanics' Magazine, when he said: "The education of a free people ... will always be directed more beneficially for them when it is in their own hands .... Men had better be without education ... than be educated by their rulers".

This was the spirit of distrust which caused the many attempts in Britain in the 1820-1840 period to found genuine working-class adult education bodies - first by trying (unsuccessfully) to take over the mechanics' institutes, then by mutual improvement societies, Hampden Clubs, Owenite Halls of Science and Chartist Reading Rooms. This same distrust was later to be seen in the attacks on Ruskin College as an "establishment institution" in the first decade of its life, leading to the formation in 1909 of a rival "Central Labour College" with teaching on Marxist lines. Similarly since the British Workers' Educational Association and the new university extra-mural departments were receiving public grants in the 1920s, the National Council of Labour Colleges was set up with a militant and avowedly Marxist approach to labour education.

In Britain which pioneered this road, the fears were of workers "being educated by their rulers" in the form of an interfering governmental control (direct or indirect). In North America, when universities really began to show an interest in workers' education, the objections from some trade unionists tended to focus more upon the strong influence of "big business" upon university finance and thus (it was suggested) upon university educational policy. The attack by large corporations on the Wisconsin University School for Workers in 1938, with the consequent Wisconsin State Senate hearing and legislative threat to withdraw funds, gave added weight to this theory, even though the University, to its credit, stood firm and continued its programme. Eleanor Coit and Mark Starr, commenting in their article in the American Labor Review of July 1939, stated: "The lesson of Wisconsin may be that labour cannot with safety put all its eggs into the basket of a state subsidy in the matter of workers' education". For those entering this field in the post-war period a similar lesson was to be found in the General Motors' "destruction" of the University of Michigan Workers' Education programme in 1948.

The same grounds for suspicion are reported again in an article (by V. Ulriksson) in "Industrial and Labor Relations Review" in January 1952: "Unions have been and still are suspicious of the efforts of the universities to invade the field of industrial relations and workers' education. They contend that most university governing boards and far too many administrative officers and faculty members have management orientation: that they have little or no understanding of the problems and aspirations of the worker ... and of the people who labour with their hands in the industrial arena". Alice Cook and Agnes Douty made the same point in 1958 in their book on "Labour Education outside the Unions", where they say: "Thus for the unions, the university *was* a partisan institution on the side of big business. They would have nothing to do with it in their workers' education movement". However this quotation is in the past tense, and Cook and Douty seem to be referring here about the period up to the Second World War. They see a subsequent change of attitude, resulting from the war-time acceptance of the unions as one of the legitimate power groups in the USA.

Yet in Canada as late as 1957, we find A.L. Hepworth, in a lecture to the Canadian Association for Adult Education on "Where is Labour Education Heading?", reporting virtually the same doubts: "Today the extensive university sponsorship of business schools and management courses had helped to perpetuate this idea. Union leaders have wondered as they ... noted the heavy representation from business on university governing boards, if the gulf between labour and the universities were not too deep and wide for bridging". Mr. Hepworth is giving a slightly different emphasis to the distrust, by reminding us that the courses for trade unionists are frequently placed under the same institute as the management courses, and taught by the same lecturers. The suspicion then becomes broader than a general distrust of over-all policy, to include doubts about the orientation of the actual content of the courses.

According to Kenneth Lawson's article in the *International Labour Review* (January 1970) regarding British extra-mural classes run specifically for workers, distrust of management is a more general (though not a serious) matter, since joint management-workers groups are the exception. But sometimes "interest shown by the management and by training officers" (for example, by agreeing to day release of their workers) "can prove to be a handicap". Paternalism is rejected by the unions and the motives of management are often suspect. Somewhat similar difficulties arose in the early years of the scheme at the University of Chile.

Returning to the USA, Selig Perlman in "A Theory of the Labor Movement" (1949) - a more general study not focused upon universities and workers' education - takes a more philosophical and ideological standpoint; and yet it is possible that he touches a deep chord in trade union feelings, as distinct from their expressed views. "Labor's struggle against the intellectual who would frame its programs and shape its policies ... is of equal importance to the struggle against employers .... In this struggle against intellectuals, we perceive a clash of an ideology which holds the concrete working man in the center of its vision with a rival ideology which envisions labor merely as an abstract mass in the group of an abstract force".

From the viewpoint of the worker-student, this rather abstract statement can crystallise into a criticism of university workers' education as too theoretical and academic. On issues where workers feel strongly, they are told to be calm and objective to view the matter from all angles. Thus one hears frequently the accusation that "the lecturer always sits on the fence", indicating a belief that objectivity can breed sterility. Don Vial has stated at the ULEA conference in 1966 that the criticism can carry over into the research field, and that the research of the Berkeley Institute of Industrial Relations has been criticised as "remote, academic and self-serving". He points out that trade unions are naturally reluctant to co-operate if they feel that the only purpose for research is "personal publication for academic advancement".

These complaints are often linked to criticism of the methods and techniques of university teaching. Let us take the major criticisms voiced by some leading Asian trade unionists to an ILO consultation on this theme in Manila in March 1973. It was said that distrust of universities in workers' education was mainly because universities tended to be profit-oriented institutions, which had become "diploma-mills" rather than genuine learning institutions; that they tended to instil a "white-collar mentality" into their students; and that their teaching methods (largely by lectures) were inefficient and not "student-centred", as good workers' education should be. (Incidentally, hopes were expressed that involving itself in workers' education might produce rapid improvements in a university's teaching techniques.)

Dr. Levine in his article in "Industrial Relations" (Berkeley) in February 1966 was also critical of the quality of much university workers' education, though perhaps from a more rigorous academic standpoint. His complaints were of a lack of systematic curriculum planning, of serious programme evaluation and of educational counselling of a type which could lead to "a progression of learning experience".

The gamut of trade union objections thus runs from rejecting university aid because they distrust it, to criticising it for not being of the best quality. Perhaps we should remind ourselves at this stage that the situation is not usually one in which the universities are fighting for the chance to run workers' education programmes. Most universities have many possible fields of expansion, being held back for lack of funds: they need some special overriding reasons for allocating even a small part of their inadequate resources to workers' education. When the trade unions (the source of their potential students) express reservations about joint university/workers' education courses some academics heave a sigh of relief - especially when they hear of trade union demands for control over the policy and programme of any joint course arranged. Their hard-won and jealously-defended academic freedom seems to be threatened; they are being asked to abandon their objectivity (and some say, their neutrality); they are also being invited to lower their academic standards, by giving exemptions from normal university entrance qualifications and by altering their teaching methods. Add to these misgivings, the trade union schisms which exist in many countries and which would either presage stormy discussion periods or entail the universities repeating the courses for the different trade union centres, and the prospects become less attractive still to any university not already convinced of its duty in this direction.

Even amongst university staff qualified for this type of work, there may be a reluctance because such courses can leave one on the fringe of university life with problems of securing internal "parity of esteem".

There was the same insecurity in the early days of the Asian Labor Education Center in the University of the Philippines where the first Director has said "at the University we were received with some apprehension". Given such a gloomy view, it is interesting to note at the other extreme a report from a Japanese professor, to the same Manila 1973 consultation, that many militant Japanese university staff members do not wish to co-operate with trade unions in these matters, because trade unions are such reactionary right-wing institutions that they can see no hope of educating their members. This, at any rate, is not normally the complaint of governments and employers. In those countries where these groups express doubts, it is normally on the grounds that such courses might easily aggravate the social and political problems of the country, by "training agitators to agitate more effectively".

Finally, we should perhaps note two other unusual complaints. One condemns such schemes precisely because they depend on co-operation between the university and unions, with the result that non-unionised workers are neglected. The other was raised by Professor Allaway (for many years Adult Education Professor at Leicester University) in his presidential address to the Educational Centres Association in 1967-68. He attacked particularly university provision of day-release classes for workers with these words: "Without wishing in the least to question those promoters, may I not suggest that this amounts to a species of separate development, or to use a loaded term, *apartheid*?" Professor Allaway is questioning the right to existence of workers' education as an activity separate from general adult education.

Given this wide range of doubts, distrusts and difficulties it is not surprising that F.K. Hoehler Jr. (then in university labour education but now Director of the AFL-CIO Labor Education Center) should tell a 1965 Workers' Education Conference: "With few exceptions, no college, school or department has wanted to become involved. The function has been considered either too risky or not academic enough, and usually both. The labor program has been placed where it can do the least harm, where it can be protected, where it can be watched, and/or where it can be surrounded by the mystique of industrial relations, community programs and research". The same picture is painted of the early days by Ernest Schwarztrauber when he says that the Wisconsin School of Workers "has many times faced the insecurity of an unwanted child, so to speak, since no university department seemed willing to accept it". "In fact, only because organised labor in the State has been so persistent, does the School for Workers survive today".

Yet there has been much recent development of university work in workers' education in many countries of the world, as has been shown in Professor David's research and in our section II. There must therefore be at the same time a number of advantages and assets which our analysis so far has not represented. These will be examined in section IV.

SECTION IV. OBSERVABLE STRENGTHS, ASSETS AND ADVANTAGES

> "I am ashamed of my emptiness," said the Word to the Work.
> "I know how poor I am when I see you" said the Work to the Word.
>
> Rabindranath Tagore.

The basic philosophical argument in favour of more university involvement with workers' education and more trade union involvement with general university activities is summarised in the above quotation from Tagore, which encapsulates in its simplicity many of the incoherent frustrations of young university rebels and of disillusioned trade union veterans. A fruitful marriage of the "world of the word" and "the world of work" can indeed bring benefits to both.

From the viewpoint of the universities, engagement in workers' education offers some prima facie evidence of social relevance and of a rejection of ivory-tower isolation. As the Rector of Lille University declared at the tenth anniversary celebration of the Workers' Education "Centre du Nord", to open academic training to all sectors of the community "can help the universities to understand the nature of the scope of the workers' struggles". This understanding can enrich the ethos of university teaching, as the "1919 Report" stressed: "One of the dangers of academic work, of which many of those engaged in it are well aware, is that, absorbed in its own exacting problems, it may become divorced from the general life of the community, and thus miss the opportunity either of getting or giving the inspiration which springs from the mingling of different types of culture and experience (page iii)... It (adult education) brings into the universities a body of teachers who have had a wider experience of the concrete problems of industrial life than can easily be obtained by those who spend their whole time in intra-mural teaching" (page 133). Then again: "The wider the range of experience upon which the universities draw and the more diverse the characteristics and aims of students attending them, the richer is likely to be their intellectual life and the more vigorous their influence upon the community" (page 115).

It is indeed heartening to find this same appreciation of links with the world of work implicit in many of the suggestions of the UNESCO Faure Commission ("Learning To Be"), regarding university policy; and explicit in the International Congress of University Adult Education 1970 Conference Paper (already quoted), when they say: "Some subjects would not have developed as they have, had it not been for the adult education activities of certain more adventurous universities. The relationship is, therefore, one of mutual benefit". This benefit was also noted in the 1919 Report, and has also been highlighted by some of the interdisciplinary research carried out by university labour institutes.

Such views are entirely consonant with Ortega y Gasset's plea that "every university must be open to the whole reality of its time". They certainly justify a more positive approach to university commitment to workers' education than that quoted from Hoehler in section III, and further developed by his later in the same lecture: "A labor education program ... was a line to the labor movement that helped to balance the already existing lines to management through the large schools of business". Given that attitude, he is right to add: "University labor programs have not as yet set down deep roots within their institutions and will not do so until there is much more involvement of, and integration with, the total academic and off-campus structure".

There are good grounds for hope that the new university commitments to social relevance will ensure more involvement and integration, and that university policy in these matters is now imbued with the more positive views already quoted. Professor David in his article in the *International Labour Review* contends that there has been a real change of climate, in France at any rate: "The days are past when workers' education had to be conducted with extreme discretion within the universities, lest its very existence should be challenged:" and "the organisation of courses based on joint management of this kind and using outside lecturers is in line with the universities' solemn statement of intention to welcome contributions from other areas".

For those more concerned with the pedagogical (or andragogical) aspects, again the contemporary criticisms of many university students concerning their internal lecturers adds increased poignancy to the claims that workers' education can bring considerable improvements to the methodology of university faculties. As the universities search painfully for more acceptable teaching techniques they are borrowing more and more from methods long used in workers' education, such as individual attention group activities and a student-centred approach. One meets frequent American references along these lines; but it is interesting to read from Dr. Moon Young Lee, the Director of the Labour Education and Research Institute of the University of Korea, that "University teachers who teach workers have changed their outlook and behaviour considerably, and also the content of their regular university courses, as a result".

This attempt to experiment with and improve upon current methodology is, of course, by no means an inevitable result, even though it was claimed to be happening in the pioneering British university tutorial classes of Professor Towney in the first years of this century. In fact, Dr. Levine, in his article in the *International Labour Review*, is critical of the teaching given by normal university staff on many university labour courses, and Rogin and Rachlin in *Labor Education in the United States* seem to suggest that starting with the "exposition of theory and abstractions and moving on to discussion of concrete problems" is still the norm, even when teaching groups of worker-students. They do, however, mention case studies, questionnaires and discussion techniques, features not traditionally prominent in university courses. There can indeed be little doubt that there have been many cases of influencing methodology, and always for the better. Similarly, the benefits to university research in the field of industrial relations have alreaddy been noted in many quarters. The universities have gained a good deal in these ways and stand to gain a good deal more.

From the viewpoint of the trade unions and their membership, despite the doubts some express, it is now recognised more and more how helpful university co-operation can be. In the first place, much public money has been channelled into workers' education via the universities which would never have been given directly. For example, it has been estimated that in England and Wales five times as much money has been obtained from the Government for workers' education (through the extra-mural departments, the workers' educational associations and their joint committees) than has been provided by the TUC itself.

In the USA the subventions of state money through the normal university budgets were increased in 1951 by the grant to the Inter-University Labor Education Committee by the Fund for Adult Education of $95,000 for an "Inter-University Program of Union Leadership Training for Democratic Citizenship". By 1966, Dr. Levine estimated that: "The financial resources applied to university labour education across the country, excluding special project grants, approximate a million dollars a year". (Industrial Relations Journal, Berkeley, February 1966, page 98._ Similarly it is interesting to note that in Egypt by 1969 seven universities were making a total yearly contribution of 10,000 Egyptian pounds to the Workers' Education Association.

In such cases, obviously one cannot definitely assert that no public money would have been granted direct to trade unions for workers' education purposes, but it seems highly probable that it was the "university umbrella" which gave the necessary protection by its guarantee of "objective education". The importance of this factor, especially in the new countries, was stressed by Rex Nettleford in his paper at the Second Caribbean Regional Conference on Trade Union Education, in 1968. "The University affords a necessary point of neutrality in small communities where trade unions and politics are closely enmeshed or where a jurisdictional situation exists because of the rival strengths of trade unions."

This raises, however, the question of the validity of the indictment we have noted: does acceptance of this "umbrella" entail also the acceptance of a sterile neutrality in the treatment of vital problems? As with most matters, it depends on definitions and viewpoints. Sir Walter Moberly gives a different interpretation in his "Crisis in the University": "The university's own contribution (to adult and workers' education) is distinctive and invaluable: patience and thoroughness, insistence on facing all, and not only some of the relevant facts, a readiness to revise the most cherished conclusions in the light of new data, a temper that is judicial rather than propagandist ...

Of course the university has no monopoly of these qualities, nor is it itself impeccable. But nowhere else are they so deeply entrenched or so integral to the raison d'être of the whole institution. The participation of the university is thus indispensable as a bulwark of freedom".

To get a complete picture, one should also link this "judiciality" with the horizon-widening effects of a university approach. It was noted by Rogin and Rachin that: "The Centers have shown that they can carry worker-students from immediate union needs to education that is much broader". Again, this can provoke some unionists, who see the point only in the "bread-and-butter" subjects and who fear that these wider horizons will dissipate the intensity of concern with working-class problems.

It is, however, heartening that more trade union leaders are showing a greater appreciation of the broader approach to study, agreeing with the British TUC that "education must minister to the needs of the whole man, as an individual and a citizen, as well as a worker and trade unionist". Jack London, in his contribution to the 1965 Rewley House Conference on Workers' Education noted a change in this direction of the trade union movement in the United States: after commenting that "education for education's sake, for its value in developing the individual ... *has had* few advocates", he then added: "Some improvement is in sight. The rising educational attainment of our population has stimulated an interest and growing clientele for liberal adult education, which is also reflected in more programming in liberal education subjects, within workers' education .

By February 1966, Lois Gray was writing (in the Berkeley *Industrial Relations Review*) that "proponents of the 'whole man thesis' suggested study of the liberal arts as an appropriate method of (union) leadership education ... Great books and reading improvement courses invaded the labour field and several universities designed special programmes in the humanities for labor audience". In fact, it would appear that Fred Hoehler's analysis (at the 1965 Rewley House Conference) is valid: that "After the university shows its good faith in relatively familiar areas, then the union will often ask for classes ... in which the university can make its unique contribution".

From the viewpoint of governments, which are usually the ultimate source of the finance required for university workers' education, this broadening of the curricula obviously makes the expenditure of public funds more justifiable. The case becomes even stronger when one combines this factor (of an expanding liberal element) with the increasing need in every country for well-prepared trade union leaders to participate in the economic and social development.

This was the message delivered in 1970 by the Director-General of the ILO in his speech on workers' education in the coming years: "It (workers' education) is a means of mobilising the popular support and participation which the first United Nations Development Decade lacked and which is so essential for the success of the Second Decade ... the progress of workers' education is a major challenge to the whole educational system no less than to trade unionism". Mr. Jenks also quoted the words of the late President of India (Dr. Zakir Hussain) that "education is the most purposeful instrument of national development", "what we need most urgently is a revolution in education which can trigger off the necessary cultural, economic and social revolution", and "in a society taking such rapid studies in industrialising itself ... the education of workers can be neglected at our peril".

In recent years increasing attention seems to be paid by governments to further assist the "revolution in education" and thus the "necessary cultural economic and social revolution", by the commitment of public funds to university schemes of workers' education, thus increasing the fruits of the marriage of "the word and the work".

SECTION IV. PATTERNS OF CO-OPERATION

"A good deal of union-university activity has been going on for some time ... we have a heritage." If Gordon Hawkins could make this claim at a conference sponsored jointly by the Canadian Labour Congress and the Canadian Association for Adult Education in 1956, now it is certainly much truer and for many more countries. There is indeed by now a considerable record of achievement in many parts of the world.

In the United States, for example, Rogin and Rachlin summarised the situation in 1968 in these commendatory terms: "The programs of the university centers are the major community-based labor education in the United States. They afford educational opportunity to members of unions without national programs, as well as those with; they make possible containing education programs; they develop programs that bring together members of many national unions; they explore subject areas that may not be the immediate concern of either a national union or a central body; and at their best, they bring a professionalism to labor education, offering the advantage of academic knowledge about problems of concern to unionists as workers and citizens of society. They provide what financial support there now exists for labor education." They bolster these general claims with what is after all quite powerful evidence. "For a voluntary activity, labor education short courses hold their students very well ... The retention rate is very high, ranging from a low of about 75 to about 90 per cent."

A similar picture of "satisfied and successful customers" emerges from the Canadian Labour College's questionnaire to past graduates of its courses, organised jointly with McGill and Montreal University. Of 157 respondents, 34 had obtained permanent staff jobs with their unions; 103 attained new offices in their unions (there may be some overlapping here with the first category); 23 had obtained better non-union positions; 112 felt their union work had improved significantly; 90 had continued with union education (31 as instructors); 119 stated that their choice of reading material had been profoundly modified; and 149 thought they had a much better understanding of social problems, while three replied in the negative. Whether one compares these figures with evaluations by workers of normal union-run courses, or by internal students of normal university courses, these appear to be very satisfactory results - from the viewpoint of both the sponsoring unions and the individual students.

A more general value assessment of the Asian Labour Education Center (University of the Philippines), made by Director Cicero Calderon in 1962, reminds us in salutary fashion of what is the usual alternative to a university-union co-operative programme: "Even today there are about 3,000 unions registered (in the Philippines) ... Obviously it was not easy to develop within the labor movement an organisation which could assume the over-all responsibility for labor education. The alternative was the University of the Philippines, a state-supported institution, free of partisan politics, which enjoys a high measure of prestige and would have the confidence and respect of the various labor federations". One should combine this 1967 statement with the 1973 claim of the present Director, Manual Dia, that "ALEC continues to prove that a university can truly become not only a citadel of intellectualism but also a market-place of practical ideas".

The work of such a centre needs to be seen in its whole context, including its effects upon the popular image of the university and the unlikelihood of useful high-level workers' education from other agencies. The same is generally true of the contributions of universities in Africa, which received commendation at the ILO seminar in Nairobi in 1969. "In many African countries, universities had shown interest in workers' education. Special university-connected bodies ... had been established in countries such as Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Zambia and Tanzania. In the United Arab Republic, seven universities made a total contribution of 10,000 Egyptian pounds to the Workers' Education Association, and 40 per cent of the members of the advisory committee of the Association were university professors. In general, universities had helped considerably in preparing study materials, conducting advanced courses in various subjects for trade unionists, carrying out research related to workers' education, and guiding, upon unions' request, in the planning of their education programmes."

A list of achievements such as the above, piece-meal and imperfect as it is, needs to be read bearing in mind how little progress could have been made without university intervention in these fields of programme planning, materials preparation and research. In North America, the development of the various "university centers of labor education" helped stimulate extensive serious research into industrial relations, collective bargaining, etc. Now the library of the Industrial and Labor Relations Institute of Cornell University can boast of more than 100,000 books in this field; and the information-retrieval system run through McGill University Industrial Relations Center covers hundreds of collective agreements. Similarly other centres (notably the Berkeley Institute of Industrial Relations) are pace-setters in research into social problems of particular interest to unions and their members (such as housing, the urban crisis, minority groups and medical care).

Much progress has been made, and many achievements can already be seen. Furthermore, as we have suggested, the climate is favourable for further progress. Professor David in his article in the _International Labour Review_ contended that the French labour institutes "are now in a particularly favourable position for shaking off their marginal status - ..." and "have steadily increased their impact in the world of labour and are attracting wider attention". He also makes the telling point that "most of the new trends (in universities and society) correspond to concepts, rules and practices that have flourished within them (the labour institutes) for more than a decade". One can link this view with the observations of the UNESCO Faure Commission: "Both force of circumstances and social and intellectual criticism are subjecting the universities to increasing pressure, requiring the university establishment to adapt more dynamically to the realities and needs of a rapidly changing world". The time seems to be ripe for consolidation and for further expansion.

Even then, of course, the workers' education component can never be more than a small fraction of the total programmes of any university: but even modest expansion can be achieved only within the framework of certain traditional safeguards. These have varied somewhat from country to country.

There is evidence in some universities that progress has been made on the basis of certain "agreed principles", acting as safeguards, to allay the doubts and distrust of the trade unions. For example, the university accepts its needs for links with society through such bodies as the trade unions and offers its staff and facilities for training programmes. These programmes are to be conceived and built up by the trade unions who have the primary responsibility for the administration and financing of the programmes, decisions concerning the subject matter to be taught, the selection of the teaching staff, of the students and of the choice of instructional material. One university-union agreement stipulated that "the teaching corps and instructors must be engaged in the trade union struggle and, so far as possible, come from the ranks of labour". Whilst the university may collaborate in training the teachers or instructors, "control of the programmes shall always remain in the hands of the trade union organisation".

It is interesting to note the provisos laid down by an Asian Seminar on Workers' Education, as long ago as 1954. They stated: "For any university-sponsored programme to succeed and be accepted by the unions, certain conditions must exist, namely:

(a) that the university enjoys academic freedom;

(b) that the teaching staff should have had experience of the labour movement;

(c) that organised labour should have a voice and be consulted on its policies and programme;

(d) that its programme must be carried out with objectivity."

It will be observed that the Asian provisos offer some safeguards to the universities as well as to the unions. In many countries, this balance would prepare the ground for extended co-operation in a positive way. It would be a major contribution if the symposium could elaborate further upon these principles and suggest ways of reaching a formula for compromise in different types of situation.

It would also be helpful if the Symposium would consider what practical steps forward can be taken in this whole field, at the present time. For example would it be practicable and useful, for other regions to follow the Asian Consultation in Manila (March 1973), which established an "Asian Liaison Committee for the Promotion of Labour Studies in Universities", with ALEC as its secretariat and service centre? Are there any potential allies within universities and governments or within international agencies who could be influential when the trade unions are asking for university aid? Or is it best to leave matters to separate groups and individuals in their own countries to do what they can in isolation? Finally are there any special arguments which can convince doubtful trade unionists of the wisdom of using suitable university assistance? For, as was said at the outset, the ultimate responsibility for and decisions about workers' education must be taken by the workers themselves.

SECTION VI. SOME BASIC PERTINENT QUESTIONS REGARDING UNIVERSITY CO-OPERATION IN WORKERS' EDUCATION

It may be of value to the Symposium to have a set of basic questions regarding the whole field of university-workers' education co-operation. The following list has been designed to focus and stimulate rather than to restrict discussion; and although the questions are worded to refer to future "ideal" schemes, they can be amended (pari passu) to clarify and systematise discussion of actual programmes and relationships which are existing or did exist.

Initiation

Q.1. (a) Who must become interested in order to launch a scheme of co-operation successfully? (For example, the trade union or workers' education movement - or individuals? The university as a body - or individual staff members? The government? The employers?)

(b) Are any of these possible partners vital? Are any unnecessary or undesirable?

Q.2. Would you expect the aims of all partners to be identical? Or will some type of "harmonisation" be essential?

Degree of Partnership

Q.3. What "type and degree of partnership" should be aimed at? (E.g. what category in our "Spectrum of Co-operation" - page 9).

Q.4. Should this degree of partnership be established at the outset? Or is it better to move towards it in stages?

(For example, there could be the following stages:

(a) university providing courses with occasional ad hoc consultation with trade unions;

(b) machinery for regular consultation - university decisions;

(c) joint policy committee - trade union minority;

(d) joint policy committee - university/trade union equality;

(e) any other system?)

Organisational Structure

Q.5. Who should have ultimate control over the activities - e.g. recontinuance or ending, changes of major policy? (The university? The trade unions or workers' education body? A "joint committee"? If the latter - of what proportions? Any other groups deserving representation - e.g. government? A general adult education body? A co-operative movement, etc.?)

Q.6. Who should control and run the activities in day-to-day matters?

Q.7. Could there be any special problems raised by forms of "joint control", both in theory and in practice?

Q.8. What special local problems may occur in particular instances - and how can they be solved? (E.g. the existence of more than one central trade union body; the involvement with several universities; a joint arrangement with "management students" etc.)

Q.9. What problems may emerge about fitting this suggested organisational structure into the existing framework of university administration? How can they be tackled?

Finance

Q.10. From what source(s) should the activities derive their finance - including general running costs; staff salaries; books and equipment; participants' course fees, living costs and salary maintenance? (Possible sources include trade unions; the university; central government, ministry of labour, social security funds; local government; employers; private educational trusts.)

Q.11. Can any indirect form of support reasonably be expected? (E.g. free use of main university rooms, library facilities, etc.: free services of university and trade union staff.)

Q.12. Is there any rationale concerning the provenance of finance for different types of expenditure?

Q.13. Who should have immediate control over expenditure? And who should have long-term budgetary control?

Courses General

Q.14. Who should be the students/participants? How should they be chosen? Should there be any requirements regarding age, sex, formal educational level, trade union affiliation, trade union office-holding etc.?

Q.15. Should participants join with ordinary university students in any course studies or should they study quite separately? If the latter, should arrangements be made for some social mixing?

Q.16. Should the university/workers' education course-programme be built into the general structure of the university's academic programme - e.g. regarding "credits", certificates, equivalences, exemptions, etc.?

Q.17. Who should be the "teachers" - part time and full time - and how should they be chosen?

Q.18. Who, apart from "teachers", should influence the choice of study material and the way it is presented?

Course Organisation

Q.19. What (in your view) is a suitable length for a university/workers' education study programme for:

(a) top leaders of trade unions?

(b) middle-level trade union office leaders;

(c) rank and file workers?

(It is suggested that duration may best be measured in "formal study hours", since this infers nothing about the periodicity.)

Q.20. Is this study best organised in a continuous period or at intervals?

Q.21. What arrangements can usefully be made for individual study linked to the formal programme? (Reading and written assignments, correspondence courses, radio, television, tapes, study kits, etc.).

Q.22. What are the advantages and disadvantages of residential programmes? Where should residential and non-residential programmes be sited?

Content of Courses

Q.23. (a) What criteria should be used to select themes for study, from the whole social sciences field?

(b) How can these themes best be related to the experience of the participants and to the mainstream of university studies?

(c) Should they be "normal university subjects" or special amalgams?

Q.24. Who should decide on the general outline of the programme? (Please relate this also to Q.18. and Q.25.)

Q.25. How much influence over course content should be exercised by:

(a) the trade union/workers' education organisation(s) involved?

(b) the internal university faculty heads?

(c) the participants themselves?

(d) any other groups?

Q.26. How should "university standards of study" be interpreted and preserved in these programmes? (Academic level/depth/intensity of efforts, relative objectivity, etc.).

Course Methods and Techniques

Q.27. Should any particular methods and techniques be especially recommended or avoided? (Lectures? Group work? Individual projects? Case studies?)

Q.28. Do any particular learning aids seem especially suitable for such programmes?

Q.29. Would you expect such programmes to present any special methodological problems or advantages?

Q.30. Should any special training for full-time or part-time teachers be offered (or insisted upon)?

Research and Documentation

Q.31. What special arrangements should be made about research and documentation in connection with such programmes?

Q.32. Can normal university research be of interest and value to such programmes?

Q.33. Can trade union research and documentation be of help to normal university researchers?

Evaluation

Q.34. Bearing in mind the aims (possibly varied) of such joint university/workers' education programmes, what methods of systematic evaluation can you suggest? Who should carry out the evaluation? Should there be separate evaluation by the two major partners, or by an independent body? How should evaluation be built in at all stages of the development of the programme?

Appendix IV

THE UNIVERSITY AS THE AGENT OF CO-ORDINATION IN THE FIELD OF LABOUR EDUCATION IN THE CARIBBEAN

(Information Paper)

Rex NETTLEFORD

SECTION I. EARLY EFFORTS AT CO-ORDINATION

No paper on co-ordination of labour education in the English-speaking Caribbean could be written without taking into account the history of work in Caribbean Labour Education before the establishment of the Trade Union Education Institute (TUEI) on the University of the West Indies Mona campus and the later establishment of the Cipriani Labour College in Trinidad and Critchlow Labour College in Guyana. These developments may be said to mark the new phase in labour education in the region. It is significant that the first serious labour college should have been established under the aegis of the University of the West Indies. It was that institution (then known as the University College of the West Indies) which assumed the role of co-ordinating labour education on a regional level as part of its adult education programme after the CD and W labour training course was held in Barbados in the forties.

The First Phase

It was in 1953 that the first staff tutor in industrial relations was appointed to the University College Extra-Mural Department to develop the study in industrial relations in the Caribbean. The first years were spent in relative "pioneer" work, convincing government departments and the Caribbean trade union leadership of the need for a systematic programme of labour education and of ways and means of achieving this. The other agencies which shared in the activity of Caribbean labour education were (a) the trade unions themselves, some of which employed education officers who were often too busy (and they still are) with union organising to pay adequate attention to union education; (b) the Colonial Development and Welfare (CD and W) organisation whose labour advisers initiated a small number of three-month training courses for Caribbean trade union leaders; and (c) CADORIT, the ICFTU regional organisation in the area. In 1958 the University's industrial relations staff tutor wrote "... and the University College must work in co-operation with CADORIT, the unions, the governments of the area, with any federal agency created to act in this field when the CD and W organisation dissolves next year, and with any other agencies which have an active interest in education in industrial relations". (Trade Union Development and Trade Union Education in the British Caribbean by Rawle Farley.) This was to shape university participation in labour education for some time to come. A good deal happened that was useful but soon the ad hoc nature of things began to negate the earlier gains made.

The Second Phase

It was against this background of enthusiastic but sporadic and ad hoc programmes of Caribbean labour education that a Conference on Labour Education in the British Caribbean was held in August 1959. This followed on a survey into labour education in the area conducted by Gower Markle of the United Steelworkers of America in Canada. The key recommendation of the Conference was the one providing in each Caribbean territory a Labour Education Advisory Committee, which was to be a unit version of a federal Caribbean Labour Advisory Council and which would "represent an educational partnership between the University, the Trade Unions ... and the territorial governments" (*Labour Education in the Caribbean - Report of Survey and Conference*). The success of this would, by implication, depend on a robust industrial relations division in the University's Extra-Mural Department. This was not to be for reasons of staff changes and in any case the federal idea had suffered a severe blow on the political level by the withdrawal of Jamaica in 1961 from the West Indies Federation. The University, therefore, continued with ad hoc courses at both the regional and local levels. Between 1959 and 1963 when the TUEI was established two valuable Caribbean courses were held in Jamaica (1962) and Barbados (1963). Most of the extra-mural courses were, however, held locally - in Trinidad, the Leewards and Windwards, Guyana (formerly British Guiana) and British Honduras.

The Third Phase

Then in May 1963 the Jamaican Government signed, in the presence of trade union representatives and the University, an agreement with the Government of the United States establishing the Trade Union Education Institute. Although it was a Jamaican arrangement the Caribbean responsibilities of the institution were written into the contract with the consent of the Jamaican parties. The stated aim was for "the training of upper level trade union personnel from *Jamaica and the Eastern Caribbean* for free and democratic trade union leadership" (my emphasis). The fact that the Jamaican Government agreed for it to operate within the University - a *West Indian* vis-à-vis Jamaican institution - emphasises the Caribbean orientation of the work of the TUEI. It should here be noted that the Jamaican Government's decision to bear the major costs of the operation of the Institute as from 1969 carries with it no stipulation about restricting the TUEI's work to Jamaican needs. All programme plans for the future do take into consideration the needs of the region as a whole. This may be easier for the University-based TUEI than the Cipriani College or the Critchlow Labour College whose very names carry strong national commitment. The Jamaican trade unions were successfully persuaded to leave the word "Jamaica" out of the title of the TUEI.

It is in this context that one needs to look at the institutional arrangements within which the three labour education institutions operate before one looks specifically at the matter of co-ordination - i.e. in terms of the agencies capable of bringing this about, the actual areas of collaboration and specific ways of achieving this co-ordination, without prejudice to the institutional frameworks within which each labour education institution now operates.

SECTION II. ADMINISTRATION AND FUNDING OF CARIBBEAN LABOUR EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

Following on the establishment of the TUEI at Mona, two other colleges were founded - the Cipriani Labour College in Trinidad and the Critchlow Labour College in Guyana, the one under the aegis of the Government of Trinidad with the collaboration of the trade unions, the latter under the aegis of the Guyana TUC with support from the Government.

Administration

The three major institutions of labour education have different emphases in their areas of administrative control and direction. The TUEI operates as an integral part of the University of the West Indies and has an Advisory Board which is appointed by the Vice-Chancellor and which advises on administration and syllabus development. It comprises six representatives of the founding trade unions (forming a majority on the Board), two from the Government of Jamaica (Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Education), and two from the University (Extra-Mural Department and Faculty of Social Sciences). The Director of Extra-Mural Studies is Chairman of the Board and the TUEI Director of Studies is the Secretary. Ultimate authority is with the University but in practical terms the research and education officers of the two major trade unions in Jamaica play a continuous participatory role in the planning and development of syllabus and programme.

The Critchlow Labour College's direct control is with the Board of Governers comprising eight members from Guyana Trades Union Council (a controlling majority), two members from the Government of Guyana, one member from the University of Guyana, one member representing the public and one member from an organisation to be "determined by the Governors" and who shall "be elected for a term of one year and shall be eligible for re-election". (By-Laws of the Critchlow Labour College, p. 1.) From the By-laws it is clear that the Board of Governors are charged with the complete governing of the College and the Principal and Registrar are administratively responsible to them. The Cipriani Labour College also has a Board of Governors comprising the Government (Permanent Secretaries of Ministries of Labour and of Education and Culture - Government of Trinidad and Tobago) (two), the Trinidad Trade Union Congress (five) and the University of the West Indies (one) plus an independent Vice-Chairman. It is clear that in Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago where there are established national centres, union representation is through these centres. In Jamaica where there is no such centre, representation on an advisory board is through the three major trade unions which helped in the establishment of the Institute.

Funding

Funding patterns are different in the territories too. The funding of the Cipriani Labour College is by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago solely. The contribution of the ILO was restricted to technical advice in the form of a workers' education expert who actually helped to launch the College. The Critchlow Institute is financed by the American Institute for Free Labour

Development (AIFLD) ($60,000 Guy.) and the Government of Guyana ($10,000 Guy.) in 1967 (and $25,000 Guy. in 1968). A marginal sum of $1,000 from students' registration fees was anticipated in 1968. But there was the added sum of some $10,000 Guy. per annum when the College acquired its own building. The TUEI in Jamaica has its own building which was a gift of the USAID. It was later added to by the Government of Jamaica and the trade unions of Jamaica who raised funds through a labour day tag drive in 1964. Recurrent costs have run to some 16,500 pounds per annum (or $79,200 E.C.). The USAID guaranteed this sum for 1964-67. The Government of Jamaica for 1968 granted 9,000 pounds ($43,200 E.C.) while USAID gave US$10,000 or $5,000 E.C. The trade unions offered to contribute 4,500 pounds ($21,600 E.C.). In addition the British Trades Union Congress guaranteed a sum of 500 pounds per annum ($2,400 E.C.) for the years 1967-69. After 1968 the Jamaican Government made an annual grant of 12,000 pounds ($60,000 E.C.) to the TUEI while the trade unions offered to contribute 4,500 pounds ($21,600 E.C.). Supplementary funds have had to be raised otherwise. International organisations through co-sponsorship of special courses and conferences and through technical aid have contributed a good deal in services if not in hard cash.

SECTION III. AGENCIES OF CO-ORDINATION

The existence of three major labour training institutes in the English-speaking Caribbean can now be seen as an answer to the former frenetic trade union training pattern throughout the area. There is still a great deal of unco-ordinated work, however, e.g. by the Caribbean Congress of Labour (CCL), the American Institute for Free Labour Development (AIFLD), the International Trade Secretariats, the German Federation of Labour (since 1966), the ILO and the three Caribbean labour education institutions already discussed.

The AIFLD provides a link between the CCL, the Critchlow Labour College and the TUEI at Mona since it is a source of funds for the first two and helps to administer the USAID grants for the last. It is also a source of labour education expertise for all three and offers valuable outlets for further education for graduates of the Caribbean institutions. But this is an organisation external to the English-speaking Caribbean. So are the German Federation of Labour and the ILO. Their role is one of assistance, not control and direction, and any meaningful co-ordination in West Indian labour education must be initiated by the West Indian people themselves. The International Labour Office on its own account asserts that it is not there to "substitute itself for the trade union organisations" in member States (Labour Education No. 12, March 1968, page 25). This is not to underestimate the ILO's role as what it calls a "catalysing agent in promoting contacts between trade union research and other services and universities, institutes of labour relations" etc. But outside bodies cannot be expected to take full responsibility for West Indian affairs and what is offered by such bodies must have a relevance to our needs. This is particularly true of the International Trade Secretariats to which West Indian unions are affiliated. It has been this author's contention that judging from the syllabi of certain ITSs, not enough thought is given by them to what may be termed "occupational problems" of unionists employed in specific trades and industries. There is perhaps reason for this since not much is known about these specific problems - a matter which the labour colleges should consider in building up their research facilities.

The resort is therefore to basic (in some cases very basic) unionism, training which should be done much cheaper on home ground and over longer periods than are often possible by an ITS faced with limited funds. Instead of courses concentrating on the root problems peculiar to particular "trades" one finds lectures with titles which suggest tactics and strategy for confronting an inimical ideology rather than getting on with the positive job of making trade union leaders more proficient in their specific workplaces. The ITSs may well keep in closer touch with the CCL and the labour colleges so as to give their training programmes more direction and significance in the West Indian context. The job of the ITS is not, strictly speaking, to co-ordinate West Indian labour education services. But they can collaborate with the West Indian agencies of co-ordination strengthening the possibilities of co-ordination far beyond what has already been achieved, and promoting their work.

The Caribbean Congress of Labour, as a trade union confederation, is naturally central to this. But the CCL has serious problems. Firstly, it has not got the resources of personnel and finance to carry through with an effective job of co-ordinating labour education services. This can and should be corrected but it will depend on some outside help and mostly on help from constituent members who believe in education. The difficulty may be that certain individual members may want to give priority to labour education efforts at home and such efforts may include the labour colleges themselves. (Trade unions both in Guyana and Jamaica are already committed to financial assistance for their labour school.) There is yet another problem with the CCL. Not all trade unions in the English-speaking Caribbean are members of the CCL. In one or two cases, powerful trade unions in particular territories are not affiliated, e.g. the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union in Jamaica. Dominica and Grenada also have trade unions which are not affiliated. The TUEI as part of the UWI which serves all the territories found that these unions therefore looked to it for training. The Jamaican situation was easily solved but the Eastern Caribbean problem could be more easily met if all unions were affiliates of the CCL. It is a known fact that the CCL is willing to have everybody in, who is willing to be in. But factors of history and personality have militated against efforts to correct the anomalies. As long as such a situation exists, the CCL will be restricted in its task as a co-ordinating agency in the field of labour education.

One must take a look then at the UWI in particular and more generally the UWI in collaboration with the University of Guyana.

The University of the West Indies provided this co-ordination in the past in collaboration with CADORIT and later with CCL. There is a case for this university link to be developed and further fostered. Militating against this may be the argument that Guyana is no longer a part of the UWI system but recent developments have actually revealed the willingness of the Guyanese University to re-establish closer links with the University of the West Indies for the co-ordination of certain services that could be more profitably shared by these institutions. The growing autonomy of the Eastern

Caribbean-based campuses at Cave Hill (Barbados) and St. Augustine (Trinidad and Tobago) is an asset rather than a liability. It means that the University's centre is touching more directly West Indian communities other than the Jamaican one. Labour education should be made to find an important place in this development.

Positively this can be done through the university centres which operate under the Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the UWI and which are established in all the territories served by the UWI in the English-speaking Caribbean (this includes the Bahamas and British Honduras). Already the Director of Studies of the TUEI, Mona, has direct contact with all the resident tutors who are the academic and administrative university personnel in the territories. In the more recent past not enough liaison has developed between these university officers and the leaders of local trade unions. This was sometimes due to the mutual lack of interest in labour education, as well as to the frustrations suffered by tutors who have failed to receive response from local labour leaders. In some cases tutors have adopted a hands-off policy because they have felt the situation to be too "political". In other cases the tutors have felt that the work was being carried on in any case by the CCL and visiting officials of certain international trade secretariats and therefore concluded there was no need to duplicate the work. But in many cases in the recent past university personnel in the Eastern Caribbean have collaborated on the request of the unions in labour education programmes. St. Lucia and Grenada are cases in point and Barbados has had a long tradition of co-operation with the UWI. This tradition was bolstered by the establishment of the TUEI and Barbados, Trinidad and Guyana (whose early courses were organised and run by the UWI extra-mural staff tutor) all sent delegates and union officials to the one-month regional courses in Jamaica. This was cut short by the establishment of labour colleges in Trinidad and Guyana but also by the cutting off of a special AIFLD grant administered by the CCL.

The university is a vantage point for yet another reason. It affords a necessary point of neutrality in small communities where trade unions and politics are closely enmeshed or where a jurisdictional situation exists because of the rival strengths of trade unions. This is as true of Trinidad and Tobago (despite its Industrial Stabilisation Act) and indeed of Guyana (despite its strong national centre) as it is of Jamaica where the two giant unions are of almost equal strength. The administrative control and direction of the three labour education institutions has a direct bearing on this. Only in Jamaica is the university fully in charge: the TUEI is sited on the Mona campus. There is opinion in Trinidad that seems to see an advantage in a similar arrangement in that country but this has not been accepted. In Guyana the TUC is understandably jealous of its position in any programme of educating its members and the Guyanese University is yet to participate as fully as it might. It should, however, be pointed out that the essential role of a university in any form of educational development seems to be fully appreciated by the trade unions in all three territories where labour education institutions are established. For the Advisory Board (TUEI) and Boards of Governors (Trinidad and Guyana) have university representatives (UWI and University of Guyana) sitting on them. In the actual operation of courses the academic services available at the universities are also used. This does not obviate against the great influence of the trade unions in the development of educational programmes. Even in the university-based TUEI it is the trade union organisations who have the strongest voice in programme development. They it is who should be the most competent to give guidance on trends, needs and possible development of syllabus and programme. In any case it is the trade unions which will have to do the grassroot "selling" of the idea of trade union education to the rank-and-file as much as to the voluntary leader on the shop floor.

The university's unique contribution cannot be over-estimated in a developing country. This arises out of the nature of the labour movement in countries like those of the English-speaking Caribbean. The movement developed _pari passu_ with the cry for self-government and in most territories participated fully in the struggle towards independence and linked their cry for more bread, higher wages and better conditions of work with the cry for transfer of power from the metropolitan masters to the colonial peoples. The special role of the trade unions in West Indian political development is now an essential chapter in the modern political history of the entire region. Both history and common sense therefore dictate a more than passing interest by the trade unions in the total development of their territories. Education around their responsibilities is a specialised and ever-recurring need and one that becomes more important as the industrial processes of the country become more complex.

This in turn will determine the type of education which, apart from offering techniques of bargaining and knowledge of the rules which underpin the industrial relations system, must seek to acquaint trade union leaders, in depth, with the nature of the social context within which they operate as well as the economic possibilities and limitations with which their society is likely to be confronted. This type of education is best developed on the best principles of objective inquiry, critical analysis and frank discussion. A university setting is most conducive to this type of approach.

Finally, in the field of research, documentation and publication (see below) the university is probably the best equipped institution to help in territories of the West Indies. The availability of personnel from the related fields of the social sciences cannot be overlooked and the experience of the Trade Union Education Institute over the years, as of the Extra-Mural Department, bears this out.

My emphasis on the university as the prime agent of co-ordination is based on (a) the experience of labour education in the West Indies over the past twenty years, during which time initiative has rested with the UWI which now embraces all the territories but one; (b) the fact that the established labour education institutions all have contact (though in differing degrees) with a university - the TUEI is part of the UWI and sited on the Mona campus; the Cipriani Labour College makes provision for UWI liaison in its "charter" and there are plans for its being sited on or near the St. Augustine campus; the Critchlow Labour College has a University of Guyana representative on its Board of Governors; (c) the neutrality of the university in a situation where trade union rivalry and/or trade union-political party association may militate against objective inquiry and frank discussion which are essential to all forms of education; (d) the special services in related disciplines (e.g. sociology, economics, government) which can be made readily available to trade unionists at all levels and for teaching, research and documentation.

The assumption, naturally, is that the university would work in close collaboration with the trade unions themselves, and, on a West Indian regional level, the Caribbean Congress of Labour. The question that should now be asked is - in what areas could there be effective co-ordination and collaboration on a West Indian regional level and how could this best be done?

SECTION IV. AREAS OF COLLABORATION AND CO-ORDINATION AND METHODS OF ACHIEVING THIS

The matter of streamlining course syllabi comes readily to mind. All three labour education institutions are concerned with training at all levels with current emphasis on the "middle training" involving chief delegates (senior shop stewards) and field officers of trade unions. Grassroot training, which is important as a feeder source, has not got a central place since the view seems to be commonly held that this is the proper province of the trade union organisations themselves. Top-level training and much specialist training is still done primarily by international organisations, the AIFLD and other educational institutions in the industrially-advanced countries. The West Indian labour colleges do not abdicate this responsibility by any means, and must build their resources and programme to instituting as soon as possible this level of training. A pyramid of training, however, presents itself under present circumstances and the labour colleges must together decide where they should place the emphasis at this stage. The TUEI has benefited from a project of basic institutional training in unionism conducted by the CCL in the Eastern Caribbean territories. From these courses, leaders were recruited for the one-month concentrated courses. In Jamaica itself these basic courses are run by the Ministry of Labour and in Barbados the Barbados Workers' Union has long held similar courses (as well as courses of a higher level). What is lacking everywhere is the workers' education type grassroot courses which ought to be taught by education officers employed for this purpose by trade union organisations within each territory. Such officers could be trained in specialist courses that could be sponsored jointly by the three labour colleges. One such course for trade union education has been held in Washington under the sponsorship of the AIFLD. Some AIFLD help could indeed be directed towards these courses being held in the Caribbean at one of the labour colleges. In fact, the AIFLD could probably be persuaded to hold some specialist seminars on a rotating basis in each of the labour colleges, catering in each case for union leaders from the entire West Indies. The training of the trainers is the responsibility of the colleges and co-ordinated action on this would pay dividends.

The middle-level courses which seem to be the main concern of the three colleges already have a great deal in common in terms of syllabus content. The one-month regional course in Jamaica, the two-months' day course in Trinidad seem to share the commitment to all-round training of the trade union leader (voluntary and official), offering not only technical knowledge but also all related knowledge which will make the trade unionist into a more effective participant in his society as a whole. There has not been enough communication between the colleges on the matter of syllabi and programme development. It seems that there is room for constant reappraisal of syllabi and sharing of experience in approach to refinement and deepening of the work in this respect. Constant communication between college heads whether by correspondence or personal visits is strongly recommended. Exchange of lecturers and financial provision for this should be encouraged and promoted. Then when future labour education conferences are held more useful deliberations can be had on programme and syllabus development, particularly in respect of such subjects as collective bargaining methods, economics for trade unionists, communication methods as well as specialist areas in terms of West Indian industries or specific techniques of industrial engineering. Teaching methods will naturally emerge as an important matter for study.

The area of research and documentation is yet another important one for collaboration and co-ordination. In 1967 (23 October-4 November) an International Seminar on Trade Union Documentation and Research Services held by the ILO in Geneva emphasised the growing importance of research and documentation for people in the field of labour. "This fact", says a report, "is particularly evident in the developing countries where the trade unions are trying, at one and the same time, to be instruments of defence and promotion of the working world, and also partners in quest of the new economic and social structures needed for the building up of youthful nations." In the youthful West Indian nations trade unions, being poor, will have to rely on their labour colleges to provide a good deal of these services. The labour colleges, faced as they are with the problem of limited funds, should do well to draw on the resources of the universities in the region since research is a prime function of university institutions. The TUEI has benefited from the association in this respect since ready access to undergraduates help the fostering of an interest in labour studies for postgraduate research at the Masters' and Doctoral levels. Research is costly and not one of the labour colleges will be able to pursue all the necessary research projects alone. Labour education conferences and constant contact between colleges could help to establish priorities and make findings available to each other (and to the trade unions) for practical use. Much of the research should be naturally oriented to practical use by both trade unions and management. But there is also need for training in research methods for union officers who are called upon to perform research functions in preparing documentation for negotiation, arbitration and other aspects of the collective bargaining process. Social and economic studies are also highly relevant to the trade unionists' operation in the society at large and this calls for knowledge based on depth research. The ploughing back of research findings into the teaching programme is yet another aspect of the field of research and much can be done in the exchange of material between labour colleges on this score.

Closely associated with research is documentation. Texts of labour laws enacted in all territories of the Caribbean, texts of collective agreements, histories, speeches by labour leaders, trade union conference reports, arbitration awards, labour inquiries, awards of the Trinidad and Tobago Industrial Court, documents connected with economic, social and political development of each territory, should all be collected, codified and classified for use by trade unionists (and management) as well as by research students. The colleges should exchange and share material freely and willingly. The collective experience of the past thirty years in West Indian unionism could easily be lost through neglect of this important exercise. College heads do not need any formal institutional device to communicate on this matter. The device of the mailing list coupled with genuine interest could prove adequate. Proper catalogues of what exists in the documentation centres and the libraries of each college should be produced as early as possible and brought up to date from time to time.

In summary it should be stressed that all the above can be achieved almost immediately, given the understanding existing between college heads. They will naturally be expected to work within their individual institutional framework. There is small chance of their contravening tenets of over-all policyy if tact and common sense are judiciously applied. What I would not recommend is that any attempt is made to set up a supra-coordinating institution. The diversity in unity is a fact of West Indian life. It is true that outside agencies, willing to give help, usually find it tiresome to have to deal with some ten or twelve West Indian authorities. But this is not a good enough reason to impose on ourselves yet another institution that might prove costly, cumbersome and impossible to work. The CCL in the trade union field, like the UWI in the educational, could be made into a viable agency to meet this difficulty. But even when this is done, the CCL has to work with three labour colleges plus individual trade unions in individual territories. Here, the principle of rotating regional (West Indian) projects in labour education using Guyana, Trinidad and Jamaica as base points would go a long way to meeting the needs and affording the region dynamic co-ordination.

Appendix V

UNIVERSITIES AND WORKERS' EDUCATION IN FRANCE DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS

(Information Paper)

Marcel DAVID

Introduction

University labour institutes in France have now been in existence for about twenty years. Their development has been analysed in two surveys which, while not compiling an exhaustive balance sheet of their achievements, have at least taken stock of their reasons for coming into existence, the principles governing their operations, the forms they have taken, the ways in which they cater for the workers attending them, the nature of their educational activities and the place they occupy in the universities, all from three different standpoints - spirit, content and teaching methods.[1] This report, which covers the past three years, contains the information needed to be able to discuss and judge the merits, inadequacies and indeed the defects of this type of experience with a full knowledge of the facts.

There would be no point in dealing with each of the above aspects in turn, partly because this would involve repetition, and partly because specialists on workers' education and many thousands of trade union activists are now thoroughly familiar with these university labour institutes. Within the ILO itself, at the meeting held in Geneva from 3 to 14 May 1971, the conclusions reached by the consultants on workers' education are similar in all respects to those worked out by the institutes themselves. In other words, these principles, as listed in the consultants' report, form an invaluable guide to the approach of the labour institutes to the general problems facing them.

As regards principles, therefore, there is nothing new to report compared with previous publications. Nor is there anything new about the co-operation (continuing to the general satisfaction) between university staff and trade unionists, between teachers and trainees. The training activities, which take the form of full-time courses, have not changed either. Reliance has continued to be placed upon well-tried methods. The syllabus still covers the social sciences as applied to labour.

However, the participating trade union organisations, the method of selecting the trainees, and the content of the programme have changed sufficiently to deserve mention. More attention will have to be paid than formerly to the documentation and research side, which has expanded considerably over the past three years. To these should, of course, be added certain new features regarding the structure, method of finance and operating practice. The survey is

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[1] Droit Social, Apr. 1962, pp. 220-230, and International Labour Review, Vol. 101, No. 2, Feb. 1970, pp. 109-121.

presented in the order that seems most appropriate, but first of all a number of facts are discussed which may help to highlight the present situation.

SOME CURRENT FACTS AND PROBLEMS

SECTION I

The best way of giving some idea of developments over the past three years would be to describe a few events or facts, among many others, which have marked the work of the institutes during this period and which, though anecdotal in character, are thoroughly typical.

The Labour Institutes Have Withstood the Test of Time

This is borne out by the number of foreign visitors who are now so numerous that an international reception service has virtually become necessary. What is particularly noteworthy is not so much the interest taken in the work of the institutes throughout the world, but rather the frequency with which the senior authorities of the universities that possess a labour institute recommend foreign delegations to visit it. There was, after all, a time when if the institutes wanted to survive, let alone operate, they had to remain inconspicuous.

The second fact is that a wide variety of new bodies are now anxious to take part in the work of the institutes. The Ministry of Labour, in a letter announcing the granting of a subsidy, emphasised the importance it attached to having at least one of its officials participate in their operations. Organisations such as the French Confederation of Christian Workers (CFTC), the General Confederation of Executive Staff (CGC) and the French Confederation of Workers (CFT) have announced their wish to join. Even the employers who, through the subsidy granted to one institute by the National Sickness Insurance Fund, are participating in the holding of training courses on social security, have expressed the desire to have not one but two seats on the board of the institute in question.

The third observation concerns the standing of the institutes, as workers' education bodies, with organisations engaged in continuous education. Within the universities, relations between the latter and the labour institutes are normally marked by co-operation and mutual respect. On the other hand, relations with permanent education bodies outside the universities could be better co-ordinated in the interests of efficiency and consistency. There is no shortage of clear-sighted observers, both inside and outside the universities, who will ensure that in any discussions concerning continuous education, the voice of the institutes is heard and their staffs are allowed to continue their work.

Of the developments which have marked the life of the institutes in recent years, the consequences of the events of May

1968 are worth analysing in more than one respect. It is worth doing so from two standpoints: structural and personal - leaving out of account, of course, all the beneficial effects of the events, both in general and on the labour institutes themselves. In a sense, the latter were upgraded within the new universities created under the Advanced Education Act in that they became teaching and research units on a par with other units rather than with the faculties. The fact remains, however, that for those that were university institutes before 1968, the amount of autonomy and discretion allowed them actually diminished. For example, before 1968, the director of a university institute such as the Institute for Labour Sociology (ISST) was entitled, like the dean of a faculty, to apply direct to the Ministry for the resources he needed; now that the Institute is a teaching and research unit like many others, he has to go through the president of his university. However sympathetic the latter may be, he cannot give the labour institute a disproportionately large share of the available resources compared with the other teaching and research units. As the latter are usually short of money, there is a danger that the institutes will stagnate or fail to expand their resources, unless as continuous education bodies they receive special treatment and can draw upon other resources than those provided by the Ministry of National Education.

As regards persons, there can be no doubt that since the events of May 1968, it has become more difficult to find university teachers and instructors who are convinced that co-operation with the trade union confederations is the best and most effective way of educating working-class activists, either individually or collectively. It has also become more difficult to recruit teachers for whom the mere fact of helping activists from the three central trade union organisations to fit themselves to discharge their responsibilities more efficiently is worth while in itself. An appreciable number of the staff members of the labour institutes now have to reconcile their personal ideological commitments with the need for scrupulous fairness in dealing with activists from three different trade union organisations. It can now be asserted from experience that those who remain faithful to the pre-1968 approach and those who are wholly committed in their activities outside the institutes remain entirely loyal to the principles which the institutes embody and work together in good will and mutual respect. Above all, the training courses themselves have in no way suffered and the central trade union organisations have observed the change without allowing their confidence to waver or diminishing their willingness to work together while maintaining their separate identities.

These facts and developments are, on the whole, encouraging and show that the impetus of previous years has been maintained. The three trade union organisations are unanimous in expressing their wholehearted satisfaction with the educational work carried out by the labour institutes. This continuously favourable attitude formed the start of the attempts by the trade union organisations to defend the universities against the attacks being made on them. It is in contrast with their less uniformly favourable judgment on the way the universities are tackling the problem of continuous education.

This is needed to keep the institutes from lapsing into complacency. Although initially they were hazardous ventures, borne along by enthusiasm and a good deal of idealism, they have now become established organisations, concerned with day-to-day administration and the need to balance their budgets. They, too, must cope with the danger that lies in wait for every institution: the need to maintain their initial idealism despite the passage of the years; and the need to preserve keenness, energy, receptiveness to new ideas and disinterestedness without ignoring the importance of physical facilities, the security conferred by strict accounting procedures, and the natural desire of full-time staff for the same career opportunities as other university teachers.

Adapting to the "Second Wind"

This problem had to be faced because of the sweeping changes in the university world since 1968; because the situation of the trade union movement is far from being the same as it was in the 1960s; and because the position of workers' education in the various branches of workers' training and of continuous education in general is once again being questioned.

It may or may not be considered that, at the stage they have now reached, the labour institutes require a sufficiently drastic overhaul to warrant the term "second wind"; whatever may be thought, all the participants - university teachers and trade unionists alike - are in agreement that some diversification of the institutes' activities is necessary without impairing their primary commitment to workers' education.

This diversification may take two or even three forms, which are not necessarily incompatible. In the first place, the institutes might extend the training they provide to other branches than workers' education as these branches become established in the universities, e.g. courses for farmers, community centre leaders, municipal council members, etc. Secondly, in order to meet the needs created by the courses and also to comply with specific requests from the trade union organisations and to fulfil a fundamental condition of any university body worthy of the name, they should expand their documentation centres and research laboratories far beyond their present size.

The expansion of their activities need not necessarily stop here. There is the question of how the institutes are to cope with the various tasks falling to them in the field of continuous education. Two possibilities come to mind. In the first case, the labour institutes could themselves provide the facilities for the universities' activities under this heading. In other words, they themselves would set up centres capable of carrying on the widest possible variety of activities for adults of all social and occupational categories. The advantage of this for the institutes is that it would give practical expression to the tendency of workers' education nowadays to enlarge its scope to include non-trade unionists, at least up to a certain point. But there is a danger that expansion would also mean dilution. There is also a danger that changes would have to be made in the machinery of supervision and also of management by virtue of the 1971 Continuous Vocational Training Act, i.e. there would have to be a tripartite structure (administration, trade union, employers). Lastly, there is a danger that expansion to include unorganised workers would swamp even an enlarged workers' educational programme.

The second course would be for the institutes to accept the existence of separate continuous education centres, with which they would co-operate closely and exchange services. In this way, both types of centre would be allowed to develop within their own normal spheres of activity. The labour institutes, with their experience of workers' education, could certainly take over a number of activities which, although catering for unorganised workers, would in no way impair the bipartite character of the machinery of supervision, i.e. administration and trade unions; this, it might be thought, would be an appropriate way of expanding workers' education without sacrificing anything of its specific character, since the training would still be given under the auspices of the trade union organisations alone in conjunction with their university partners. The danger in this case is that, over the more or less long term, an organisation would be built up with such strong public support that the expansion of its facilities - far beyond anything that the labour institutes can reasonably expect - would be such that future administrators might be tempted to give priority to the individual rather than the collective aspects, i.e. to a certain form of continuous education rather than workers' education.

Under the 1968 Advanced Education Act, the trade union organisations are entitled as "outside bodies" to seats on the boards of most universities as well as on those of a number of teaching and research units. This may tempt them to slacken somewhat their interest in the labour institutes, which perform on behalf of trade union activists a service that is useful but, when all is said and done, limited in importance compared with all the other university matters that the unions have to consider because of their effect on workers and their families. The trade union organisations have no illusions, however, about the likelihood of their views being taken seriously in the teaching and research units, where they are isolated. Logically, instead of agreeing to dispersal, they should concentrate on the services in the field, not only of workers' education or continuous education but also of new thinking about the educational system as a whole that can only be performed by the teaching and research units where they can genuinely make their voices heard and count on the wholehearted co-operation of the university authorities. Need it be added that these teaching and research units are none other than the labour institutes, whose functions would thereby change considerably? Nevertheless, this need not inevitably lead them outside the sphere of labour sociology, defined as a multidisciplinary approach to all the problems affecting workers and indeed to the whole world of labour, both inside and outside industry, as the new scientific and technical revolution takes place.

THE LABOUR INSTITUTES AND ORGANISATIONS WITHIN THE UNIVERSITIES

SECTION II

The Labour Institutes as Special Teaching and Research Units

The labour institutes have adapted their structure to comply with the 1968 Advanced Education Act. Apart from one or two exceptions, those institutes that wished have been converted into teaching and research units, e.g. Strasbourg, Paris-Sceaux, Aix-en-Provence and Nancy. They are eminently satisfied with the change. Their special status as teaching and research units under the Decree dated 20 January 1969 (Journal Officiel, 20-21 January, No. 17, p. 706) has proved very useful, both in maintaining the internal balance between the universities and trade union partners (a feature since the start) and between the different categories of university staff (teachers, documentalists, research workers and administrators). For example, representation on the board is based not upon university grade but according to whether or not staff are employed full time at the institutes, subject only to the proviso that at the elections, which take place at a meeting of the two electoral colleges of permanent and non-permanent teaching staff, a minimum of a third of the seats go to senior members. The director is appointed by the Minister. In accordance with established practice, the latter endorses the recommendation made to him by the board of each institute and there is nothing to suggest that in future this practice will be abandoned. For their part, the directors, whose powers are much wider than those of their colleagues in teaching and research units without special status, take care to use these powers in such a way as to preserve the team spirit which exists between university teachers, who are conscious of serving the same cause, and to associate all the partners in the appointment both of non-permanent teaching staff and of staff on fixed- and short-term contracts.

The institutes at Lyons and Bordeaux, which were too small at the time and lacked sufficiently numerous and influential allies within their universities, had to be content with the status of "common services" of the teaching and research units at their respective universities under the direct control of the universities' presidents. This is better than being forced into a teaching and research unit which is distracted by conflicting activities and policies, but there can be no doubt that this lack of autonomy compared with the other teaching and research units is a handicap in obtaining sufficient funds.

The position is different at Grenoble, because the labour institute has been attached to one of the most powerful institutes of social and economic research in any French university - the Economic and Planning Research Institute, which is fully convinced of the need to expand the activities of the labour institute; as a result, the latter has ample resources and operates in a scientifically stimulating environment.

The most difficult question, at least for the institutes that have become teaching and research units, has not been how to fit into their universities, but how to find the best internal structure to cope with the activities in which they are engaged. Because of the differences between universities and regional needs, no uniform pattern was suitable.

In Aix-en-Provence, the Teaching and Research Unit, of which the Labour and Social Research Institute (ITRES) forms part, contains three other departments: a centre for research on tourism, a human biometric and vocational guidance institute, and an advanced vocational training centre. The result is that on the board of the

Unit, the trade union organisations are in a distinct minority (9 seats out of 24). This has not, however, caused any major difficulties since there is equal university and trade union representation on the board of the labour institute itself, which has full power to decide any matters which concern it directly.

In Nancy, the labour institute, like the ISST in Paris (before reorganisation) comprises two centres, one for workers' education and the other for social studies, catering for future trade union officials. The board comprises seven representatives of the teaching staff, nine representatives of the trade union organisations, six representatives of the students, one representative of the Ministry of Labour and one representative of the administrative staff.

This, as has just been mentioned, was the position at the ISST until the organisational reform of 1972. For one thing, the ISST had to take into account the establishment within the University of Paris I of a Teaching and Research Unit (of which it was in favour) for labour and social studies; this Unit caters for law students wishing to specialise in labour matters. And for another, the comparatively large number of students in the Social Studies Section (some 450, or more than four times as many as the already large section at Nancy), all of them aiming at careers in the world of labour although without specialising in law, placed too great a burden on the staff of all categories at the expense of other tasks which in a labour institute are just as important, if not more so; all this without doing much to promote co-operation with the workers' education centre and at the risk of allowing the divisions within the student movement to upset the modus vivendi which, despite everything, had been created and maintained within the Institute.

Accordingly, it was decided to hive off the Social Studies Centre of the ISST and to attach it to the Labour and Social Studies Unit. In this way, all the students of social sciences as related to labour now form part of the same Unit, which is well placed to co-ordinate its two types of courses, the one predominantly legal and the other placing equal emphasis on a number of different subjects while giving priority to the tasks of further education, i.e. maintaining a higher proportion of genuine workers from factories and offices.

The ISST, for its part, was thereby enabled to devote full attention to the novel problems of documentation and research as they affect workers' education. The new ISST immediately set up, alongside its workers' education centre, two new sections, one for documentation and the other for research. It is fair to assert that within only a few months, they acquired a stature which enabled them to withstand comparison with any other similar organisation either abroad or in France.

Relations between these two teaching and research units of the University of Paris I specialising in labour matters are excellent. They have agreed to facilitate wherever possible contacts at various levels between trade unionists and ordinary students, while taking care, however, not to blur the distinction between them.

In addition, one of the seats on the board of the University of Paris I allocated to the student body is occupied by a representative of the worker trainees at the ISST from each of the trade union organisations in turn. It is clear from the extensive discussions that took place on this subject that the purpose of this arrangement was to confer the status of student - of a new type, but a student just the same - on the worker trainees at the ISST. It was also intended to give the board an opportunity of hearing the viewpoints not only of the trade union organisations themselves as "outside bodies" but also the views of ordinary workers and trade union activists as users of university services. This may well be the beginning of a process which in due course could bring about far-reaching changes in the structure of the student world.

The Labour Institutes and University Continuous Education

The labour institutes have been at pains to adjust to the establishment within each - or almost each - university of a continuous education centre which does not, however, constitute a teaching and research unit, since it provides a common service to the other units, and is therefore directly answerable to the president. Broadly speaking, two systems are now being tried out.

Under the first system, as at Aix, the labour institute exists side by side with a "further education and advanced vocational training centre" within the same unit. The advantage of this is that a number of specific needs such as "further education in rural areas", "tourism and leisure" and "continuous vocational training and employment" are handled within the same framework as the Institute, which has the benefit of active participation by the trade union organisations.

To offset these advantages there are plenty of drawbacks, not the least of which is the impression given to the workers' organisations in question that with a formula of this kind - bearing in mind the autonomy of the department handling permanent education - the call on their services is out of proportion to the benefit they can derive from activities whose purpose and pursuit they may not necessarily consider to be consistent with their own objectives. This may well have an impact upon the enthusiasm of the trade union confederations for the Teaching and Research Unit as a whole, including the workers' education centre. Another drawback derives from the assignment to this department of tasks which are no longer clearly identifiable as relating to individual or collective branches of further education, so that its functions appear to overlap to some extent with those of the permanent education system, under whose aegis it has moreover not been explicitly placed. The final drawback is a corollary of the other two - to wit that the ITRES is made to appear to be competing for custom with the permanent education centre, which covers the university as a whole. This gives rise to the following dilemma: either the ITRES must strive to supplant the permanent education centre at the risk of abandoning its vocation of providing collective further education in close liaison with the trade union confederations, or it must confine its activities to a restricted area of permanent education, forgoing the opportunity to carry out under contract, on behalf of the permanent education centre, activities which, while possibly open to non-trade unionists, would be under the actual supervision of the trade union confederations.

The ISST in Paris-Sceaux has decided in favour of another formula which likewise has its drawbacks and its advantages; the latter outweigh the former, at any rate in the particularly favourable circumstances in which the ISST finds itself thanks to the University of Paris I. The Director of the ISST first of all declined the offer made to him that he should take over the directorship of the permanent education centre, because it seemed to him, after consulting his trade union partners, that if he accepted there would be a risk, at least in the initial stages, of mingling two forms of co-operation - that between the university and the trade unions in the case of the ISST, and that between the university and the professions in the case of the permanent education centre. Rather than become involved in an anomalous situation which, in the long run, was likely to be to the detriment of the labour institutes, the ISST preferred to make arrangements for the institution, on a sound footing and in an atmosphere of mutual trust between responsible persons, of co-operation on an official basis with the permanent education centre, whose membership reflects the pattern of the signatories to the inter-occupational agreement of July 1970, i.e. not only the CGT, the CFDT and the FO but also the employers, the CGC and the CFTC.

First of all, it was agreed that the ISST and the Institute of Business Management (IAE) should be represented on the "pedagogical council" of the permanent education centre, small though it was; then that certain activities open to all shop-floor workers or pertaining to sectors in which the permanent education centre had acquired a solid grounding of experience, such as instructor training, would be carried out punctiliously by the ISST at the request of the permanent education centre under a proper contracting-out arrangement; and lastly that the permanent education centre and the two teaching and research units at Paris I, more particularly oriented towards permanent education - namely the ISST and the IAE - should present themselves to the Ministry of National Education as different parts of a coherent whole, which amounts, in plain language, to informing the political and administrative authority responsible for the financing of a major proportion of these activities that there can be no question of its favouring the permanent education centre or the IAE to the detriment of the ISST for the simple reason that the intention at the University of Paris I is to ensure that the balanced development of collective and of individual further education go hand in hand, without allowing the latter to supplant or even to hamper the former.

There is no shirking the fact that this formula - satisfactory though it may appear for immediate purposes - is also fraught with risks for the future - in particular the risk that the permanent education centre, when it passes into other hands, may change its outlook and yield to the temptation to expand. But this would imply - even without taking the objections of the trade union confederations into account - that the University of Paris I would agree to such an about-face. In fact, in view of the prestige enjoyed by this university, the motivations of many of its students and the internal harmony which has become a feature of its structure, such an eventuality appears highly unlikely, at any rate in the short or medium term.

Identity of the Trade Union Partners and Internal Balance of the Institutes

The labour institutes are particularly concerned to avoid any misunderstanding or confusion in relation to the colleges of permanent teachers since they are struggling with a particularly knotty internal problem of a structural nature as a result of changes that have occurred in the situation of the labour movement in the last ten years. Representatives of the CGT and CFDT are in favour of intense development of the labour institutes, even in fields other than workers' education. The FO representatives are somewhat uncertain, not to say reluctant, in this respect. If they do not declare their support for a development of this kind, to which, in itself, they should have no objection, it is for reasons connected with the general outlook and policy of their confederation. By taking a stand against any extension of the activities of the institutes beyond purely educational activities, for which FO gave its agreement in the past, they avert the risk of finding themselves in a minority on the board since it is a constant practice in the labour institutes for important decisions, and particularly those concerning the statutes, to be taken only with the agreement of the three trade union partners. On one of the rare occasions when this rule was not observed, the life of the institute in question was seriously disrupted.

It is reassuring to see that, for the time being, the problem has been shelved, thus revealing how attached the three trade confederations are to preserving the existence of the institutes. For a time all three refrained from taking part in discussions on activities other than those to which FO had agreed from the beginning and which it strongly supports. For the time being this confederation, realising that the institutes are perfectly competent and know how to maintain an even balance between their three partners and respect their viewpoints, is coming round to the idea that since the institutes have a university character they need not be affected by the ups and downs of the trade union movement. The confederation is convinced in any case that no one, inside or outside the institutes, would think of interpreting any favourable attitude it might have towards the expansion of these institutes as being incompatible with its views on relations between trade union confederations.

Further proof lies in the fact that the university teams have chosen, if not to put a definite end to inter-institute working sessions - which are so valuable for the co-ordination of their activities - at least to find a formula that is acceptable to their trade union partners. The CFDT, taking full advantage of its status as a fully-fledged partner in the management, takes a dim view of inter-institute meetings between university people alone. It would like to see its regional and departmental training officers participating in the meetings. However, a system of this kind, entailing the participation of somewhat large trade union delegations, at various levels of responsibility and concerned with local problems, could well lead to the most awkward matters being raised tactlessly. Consequently, this has been rejected by common consent in favour of smaller meetings between directors of institutes and the confederal training officers, which meetings between confederations have themselves proved to involve too much tension to be fruitful.

Yet neither these working sessions between university staff alone at the inter-institute level nor the separate meetings of university people with the leaders of each confederation fully meet the intense need of the institutes for co-ordination. It is to be hoped that, as is happening in the case of each individual institute, it will be possible for a solution to be devised at the inter-institute level that will allow the confederations to maintain their essential tenets while at the same time promoting the maximum degree of coherence in the development of the institutes.

Quite apart from these problems, further trade union organisations are applying for admission to the labour institutes so that their members may benefit from the courses. The organisations in question are the French Confederation of Christian Workers (CFTC) and the General Confederation of Executive Staffs (CGC).

As regards the CFTC, which is among the organisations recognised as being most representative, there is no basic obstacle. If it were to participate, however, the extent of this participation would have to be determined. Could it be given a seat on the board together with the corresponding number of courses? It is unlikely that this would satisfy the CFTC if it decided to make a formal application for admission.

The situation is different in the case of the CGC, first of all because it seems strange for an organisation of executive staff to belong to institutes whose purpose is to train workers. However, the explanation for this seeming anomaly would appear to lie in what might almost be called the process of osmosis that is taking place between the "new working class" and the mass of small or middle-level engineers and executives. Nevertheless, the application of the CGC presents problems since the organisation is not considered to be a confederation of trade unions but rather a horizontal organisation representing a particular category. Consequently, if the CGC gained admission to the institutes, the workers' confederations would want seats for their own federations of engineers and executives, on an equal footing for them all, in addition to their confederal representation. For the time being the question has been put to the Grenoble and Bordeaux Institutes. It involves amending the statutes and a decision to this effect can be taken only by a two-thirds majority. A split among the three trade union partners on a question of this kind would put the university people in a very awkward position.

Problems of Financing

In the main, the labour institutes are financed through a double system: the Ministry of Education provides a certain number of posts out of the state budget. In addition, a subsidy for running costs, accounted for in the institutes' own budgets, is taken from the over-all credits of each university concerned.

As regards the posts, the four institutes that are best endowed in this respect, i.e. those of Strasbourg, Paris, Aix and Nancy, have, exclusively for workers' education, a full-time staff of between eight and twelve persons in the various categories (assistant lecturers, teachers, seconded teaching staff, archivists, administrative personnel, secretaries and typists, machine operators and porters). The three other institutes are desperately short-staffed.

The subsidy for running costs ranges from 70,000 francs (Strasbourg, Paris, Nancy) to the ridiculously low sum of 10,000 francs. The criteria on which the subsidy is granted to the institutes are somewhat ill-defined. It would probably be better if the subsidy were calculated, partly at least, according to the number of "trainee-days" corresponding mutatis mutandis to the number of students in the ordinary teaching and research units. It goes without saying that a substantial increase is called for, if only to keep up with the rise in expenses resulting from price increases.

The institutes also receive an "extra hours" allowance from the Ministry of Education for lecturers' fees.

With regard to premises, when the institutes have premises to themselves, these also come under the Ministry of Education, and have been assigned to the university without either having had to pay for them out of their own pockets since this matter was previously dealt with by the ministerial delegation for workers' education (la délégation à la promotion sociale).

The Ministry of Labour, for its part, grants an annual subsidy to recognised bodies, which include the seven institutes mentioned above (plus the Lille Institute), which for a long time preferred to do without), to cover the various expenses of the trainees (subsistence, travel, compensation for loss of earnings and a small part of the general expenses). The amount of this subsidy, depending on the institute and the number of courses it runs, ranged until this year from 296,000 francs to 80,000 francs. These figures had been the same for six to seven years but the Ministry of Labour recently decided to increase its assistance by some 16 per cent.

Paradoxically, this increase could well have created a problem since, following a series of changes, the subsidy for the labour institutes now comes under the same budget as that which subsidises the trade union schools; this could have placed the university institutes in a position of rivalry with the trade union confederations if their subsidies had been increased by a higher percentage than those paid to the confederations. Actually, when confronted with such a situation, the trade union confederations saw no ulterior motive or difficulties, since the university authorities of the institutes had made it clear, in their application to the Ministry of Labour, that the increase requested was not proportionately higher than that which the trade union confederations themselves were likely to receive. The fact that this difference caused no problems is a further proof of the unqualified support given to the institutes by the three confederations.

This increase, however substantial and timely, has moreover resulted less in an increase in educational activities than in the maintenance of these activities at their former level since, in seven years, expenses have gone up by more than 16 per cent. It may be asked, in fact, how the institutes have been able to operate without generally cutting down on their activities. The answer is, first of all, that there have been some reductions though not very striking ones. They affected the number of trainees on each course rather than the number of courses. For instance, a particular institute, finding itself in financial difficulties (the threat of its resources from the National Health Insurance Fund coming to an end) was obliged to reduce attendance at each course from the normal 25 to 30 participants to 20. Other institutes, reduced to counting on last-minute withdrawals, were able to avoid measures of this kind simply because there was a drop in the proportion of trainees suffering losses in earnings. For some years now works councils have been entitled to devote part of their resources to compensating at least some of the wage losses of workers attending an approved educational course within or outside the undertaking. In addition, through collective branch agreements or by arrangement with their firms, some workers (particularly in the public sector) also enjoy full or partial income maintenance. Consequently it is very difficult for the institutes to make accurate forecasts so that they have to "play it by ear", with all the snags this entails. The fact that they have largely kept within their budgets may be attributed to their extreme caution.

On the other hand, some of the financing problems have recurred. Since the Act of 16 July 1971, fairly considerable resources - from 0.8 per cent of wages to state aid which, according to some estimates, exceeded 2,000 million francs for 1972 - are allocated to continuing vocational training within the framework of the life-long education programme. The universities could hardly not benefit from this development. Under the terms of the agreement with the Ministry of Education, some labour institutes are entitled to a subsidy to finance their courses on continuing vocational training for trade union officers who are members of specialised committees in this field.

In any case the labour institutes have no intention of giving up the system of financing from which they have long benefited in accordance with the Act of 28 December 1959 respecting state aid to bodies, particularly university bodies, dealing with workers' education. In view of the type of expenses that are likely to be met under the 1971 Act, the budgets of the institutes would still include a whole series of items which, failing financing under the 1959 Act, would no longer be covered. Merely to replace the 1959 Act by that of 1971 would be of no benefit to the labour institutes, while in extending courses and providing for their development, particularly as regards documentation, the lack of resources is sorely felt.

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

SECTION III

Even with the prospect of new sectors of activity, education remained the fundamental purpose of the labour institutes. The best way of illustrating what has been done in this connection over the last three years is to review the activities of each institute.

The Strasbourg Institute

Although the greatest number of courses have not been held at Strasbourg, it is natural to begin with this Institute since it was the first of its kind and, in many respects, is a model for the others.

The following courses were held with the three trade union confederations. They are grouped according to the confederation with which they were arranged and the main subject study. In 1972 they included courses for CGT members on Common Market problems (1 week); problems of workers in the chemicals branch (1 week); labour law (2 weeks); social security (1 week); courses for FO members on works council (2 weeks); problems of women's work (1 week); social security (1 week); courses for CFDT members on problems in the Nouvelles Galaries group (1 week); questions concerning the Renault group (2 weeks); the reform of the right of dismissal (1 week). In 1973 the courses organised in conjunction with the CGT were on labour law (2 weeks); on immigrant labour (1 week); those held in conjunction with FO were on works council (2 weeks); women's work (1 week); the courses arranged in conjunction with the CFDT were for the Péchiney-Usine Kuhlmann group (2 weeks); on the ageing process among workers (1 week); on the right of dismissal (1 week).

Six of these ten weeks have already been completed. The remaining four will be held during the third quarter and in addition, as each year, two to three weeks will be devoted to courses for social security administrators.

Courses in conjunction with the CGT - In 1973 the Institute abandoned its tradition of holding courses on a branch basis, either for the metallurgical branch or for the chemical branch. Interest in this approach does not seem to be declining but the fact that problems of co-ordination at the international level are becoming increasingly accentuated may perhaps explain the wish to have a certain amount of time to reconsider what they involve.

The courses for specialised confederal committees (on international questions, social security and migrant labour) are attended by particularly experienced trade unionists. The only problem with these courses is to avoid too big a gap between the very wide framework in which the matters are dealt with and the prior level of information of the trainees, who are highly competent but within the considerably narrower sphere of their responsibilities. Altogether, the aim is to make these "expert" trade unionists aware of the more general - particularly economic and international - aspects of the problems that are of particular concern to them, but without making them feel out of their depth.

The courses on labour law are of a very high technical level. Their purpose is to make a thorough study of difficult questions rather than to tackle the entire range of labour law. Very diversified and specific teaching methods are used in these courses in an attempt to relate technical analysis as closely as possible to the trade union point of view, which is far from easy in such a field.

Courses in conjunction with FO - Courses on women's work continued to be held in 1972 and 1973. While the content has remained much the same over the last five years, methods have changed considerably (press analysis, role playing, etc.). The possibility of organising these courses for men as well as for women trade unionists in the future is being considered.

The courses known as "works council courses" are somewhat similar to those organised on a branch basis, with the exception that studies on the working of capitalism or on industrial policy deal with several rather than just one branch. The difficulty lies in making the transition from economic analysis to the analysis of trade union practices and policies.

In 1970-71 the Institute held some highly successful courses on the problems of employment and training but these were abandoned in 1972 because of the FO's decentralisation policy in the field.

Courses in conjunction with the CFDT - Courses on trade union law and those on dismissal form part of the training policy of the CFDT's legal branch and they are organised on a particularly well-documented basis. Here, too, the difficulty is to maintain the link between the legal formulation of the problems and the analysis of trade union policy.

The structure of courses known as "group courses" (Rhône-Poulenc, Nouvelles Galeries, etc.) takes the following form: first of all the information that has been compiled on the group is presented by means of an economic and financial analysis. The next stage consists in trying to examine the strategy of the group, calling in managerial staff where necessary. The repercussions of this strategy on problems of employment or of conditions of work are then studied and, lastly, there is a debate on the methods of trade union action within the group. The stumbling block with such courses, apart from all the work involved in compiling the information, consists in connecting the analysis of the group with that of the general working of capitalism.

The social security courses held with each of the three confederations since the early days of the Institute are now operating smoothly: nevertheless, assuming that they will be able to maintain their separate system of financincing, it would seem that in future questions that have recently come to the forefront, such as the adaptation of older workers to the problems of retirement, should be dealt with at these courses.

The Paris Institute (Sceaux)

Of all the institutes it is the Labour Sociology Institute (ISST) that runs the greatest number of courses each year: between 18 and 20 weeks, representing 2,500 to 2,800 trainee-days.

A list of these courses for 1971 is appended, this time in chronological order, with an indication of the subject of each course and the number of participants as well as the programme for 1973, two-thirds of which has already been carried out.

Subject of the courses. The courses are characterised both by their comparative degree of specialisation (each confederation now designing the courses to complement its own advanced courses) and by great diversity. Admittedly, certain subjects recur from year to year, but each year there are also many new courses, considerably different in content, the only limitation on diversity being the widening field of labour sociology, which is already wide to start with. This explains the difficulty of the permanent teaching body in predetermining the field to which they should direct their work in order to meet the demand satisfactorily. This has an adverse effect on the course in so far as the university staff tend to be out of step with the trade union leaders who, as specialists on the subject, often know more about it. The complementary aspect of the discussions suffers as a result and the university people are sometimes left with the feeling that the contribution that they have made does not match up to what was expected of them. Since it is difficult to maintain a sufficiently closely-knit network of relations in fields that are so diverse and, moreover, constantly changing, the university staff chosen as teachers do not always represent the wisest choice. Documentation also suffers from this state of affairs in view of the hesitation as to which sectors should be concentrated on and which information should be kept up to date.

Teaching methods. In view of the experience acquired in this field and of the care and caution with which it is kept up to date in the light of the most recent knowledge on education for adult workers, teaching methods are, on the whole, satisfactory. What is somewhat surprising is that trainees to whom the most informal methods are applied frequently declare their appreciation of more formal lectures, when these are well prepared and planned in such a way as to facilitate note-taking. Furthermore, a comparatively large proportion of group work is usually requested, but on condition that this is efficiently organised, and even guided, and that it culminates in the drawing up of reports.

This raises a problem as regards the role of the teachers (or assistant lecturers). With the changing characteristics of the groups they have to deal with and of the nature of the course, they are perfectly willing to act as technical advisers, group leaders, observers and sometimes even as mere participants. But in view of the diversity of the subjects with which they must deal on each course, the teachers sometimes have the discouraging feeling, despite their acceptance of a multidisciplinary approach, either of being unable to play their role properly because they are unequal to the task, or of covering so much ground that they can no longer keep up to date with the subject in which they still have to prove their ability. There is now a tendency, in so far as means are available, to call in teachers from other teaching and research units who are likely to fit in smoothly with the permanent team, strengthening it from the technical point of view.

Organisations involved in the courses. There are marked differences in this respect from one confederation to another which, though clearly reflecting a deliberate policy on their part, are also the result of certain circumstances.

In the case of the CGT, 50 per cent of the time has been assigned to federations: the UGFF (Federation of French Civil Servants) and underground mineworkers in particular, the rest being allotted to inter-occupational organisations: the General Federation of Engineers, Supervisory Staff and Technicians (UGICT), railway and transport workers or to national committees, such as those of women workers or mutual insurance societies.

With FO, 70 per cent of the time has been allotted to federations: *Electricité de France*, public services, health and transport; the remaining time has been devoted to the Paris Trades Council (*Union régionale parisienne*).

In conjunction with the CFDT, only one federation-level course was held (on the problems of data processing) two years ago. Since then courses for trade unionists in the Paris area have absorbed 30 per cent of the time available, the rest being spent on research courses in response to requests from confederal committees, "*départements*" or national sectors: training committee to study the contribution of the social sciences to teaching, legal committee, supplementary pensions bodies, etc.

Altogether, in view of the fact that for organisational reasons co-ordination between the institutes cannot yet be strengthened, it is difficult to determine clearly which criteria are applied by the trade union confederations in making applications to the various institutes.

Certain courses call for special comments. Firstly, because they reveal a trend in the role of the institutes, as in the case of the courses held regularly for engineers, supervisory staff and technicians where, from the methodological point of view, the courses have to be adapted for trainees who are perfectly familiar with the university environment. Secondly, because these courses have been the subject of a thorough assessment between trade union and university organisers whose most recent teaching course, based on a study of the manner of presenting and acquiring knowledge, resulted in the devising of a "teaching strategy", after covering the contribution made by the social sciences to adult training, "self-management in teaching", institutional analysis, including experiments with a number of teaching media (simulation, role playing and case study). Lastly, because a particular course raised special difficulties: the most obvious case was that of a course on family problems held with the CFDT. The trade union organisers, because of the unusual nature of some of the subjects such as marital problems, sexuality, the parent/child relationship - and above all because of their concern to persuade trainees to set aside their inhibitions - felt themselves obliged to question the usual assignment of roles and tasks between university people and trade unionists. The situation was particularly delicate since, to avoid needlessly confusing the issues raised, there was no exchange of contradictory or even diverging points of view, as there would have been had the course been marked by the usual "spirit of research". At the end of the course a frank explanation enabled some of the misunderstandings to be dispelled and common agreement was reached as to the manner in which a future course on the same subject would be held and which this time would be likely to put everyone at ease in the respect of tested principles, without confusing the trade unionists.

Aix-en-Provence Institute

Generally courses last one week though some three- or four-day sessions are also organised. Even in 1971 and 1972, under a "continuing training" agreement, some two-day study courses were held.

So far, the quota for each union is three weeks per year, apart from courses organised in accordance with the terms of an agreement. In addition, a number of courses outside the quota are organised by the Regional Labour Institute team but financed entirely by the trade union organisation that has requested them. In this way the Institute has run courses with CFDT unions of professional and senior staff in the last two years, with the agreement and participation of the Provence-Côte d'Azur region. A similar experiment, on the problems of continuing training, was tried out with FO, financed by the latter.

In 1972 the Regional Labour Institute organised a total of ten weeks' courses. For 1973 the programme covers fourteen to fifteen weeks. It is becoming increasingly common for the courses to be prepared and carried out entirely by the Regional Labour Institute team in co-operation with the trade unionists. It is far less frequent for recourse to be had to outside experts, from the universities or elsewhere. Gradually the team is acquiring the collective experience that enables it better to respond to applications for courses. The homogeneity and joint efforts of several people working on the same subject enables the team to run most of the courses very smoothly from beginning to end.

To make its premises a paying proposition, the Regional Labour Institute hires them to trade unions and to a certain number of training bodies when not using them itself. The nature of the courses and programme from October 1971 to September 1972 were the following.

Courses on legal matters - In conjunction with the CGT. Initiation to labour law for legal advisers - third course of the same type, similar to that of the previous year. Several case studies and a considerable amount of group work. Trainees of a lower level than in the past but good on the whole.

In conjunction with FO. Initiation to labour law. This was the first course on the subject carried out by the Regional Labour Institute with FO. Previously only problems of works councils, employees' delegates and the role of the union within the undertaking had been dealt with. Some diversity in recruitment but trainees well motivated.

In conjunction with the CFDT. Course consisting of an in-depth examination, based on case studies, of the use of labour law. This course, though interesting, did not achieve the results anticipated since, from the start, over-all knowledge of the subject was inadequate.

Economics courses - With FO. Introductory course on economics with reference to the case and economic pattern of Fos-sur-Mer. A very new experimental course as regards both substance and form. This course, which sought to involve the trainees from the start was difficult to organise, but provided a considerable amount of information. It will be held again after a thorough critical study.

With the CGT. A two-week course concentrating on the economic and cultural roles of the works council. Plus a study of texts on vocational training.

With the CFDT. A study of the economic problems of the Alpes de haute Provence. First course on the problems of a "département".

With FO. A four-day course on industrial economics (balance-sheets, management, trade union role). A new course, followed with interest by the trainees.

With CFDT. Course on management. The last of a series designed to increase the insight of engineers and supervisory staff into management problems. In the light of experience the planning and organisation of the course were improved.

This course was followed by a two-day evaluation session with the CFDT organisers to sum up the results of the five courses organised on the subject which had been attended by about 100 trade unionists. A questionnaire was then sent to all the trainees in order to assess the benefit they had derived from the course. A "feedback" evening was organised at which the reactions of 25 former trainees were tested.

Another management course was organised, known as a "reflection" or "research" course. It was attended by a certain number of former trainees for in-depth consideration of the matter. A course of this kind presented considerable difficulties and basic questions, such as how to take a theoretical approach to a social problem without first analysing a concrete case, were not fully solved. As regards the form of the course also, the teaching methods were not fully adapted. After a critical examination, it should be possible to make progress with research on the course and its finalisation, this time keeping on the right track.

Courses on continuous education (based on collective agreements). With FO. A two-day course on this subject with a view to informing the trainees and increasing their insight into the matter. The same course as those organised previously with the CGT and CFDT. Also with FO, a four-day course with an in-depth study of the texts of laws, decrees and agreements. A study on employment and continuing vocational training in the region. A course attended by persons responsible for continuing training in the Provence, Côte d'Azur and Languedoc-Roussillon regions.

With the CGT. Course on employment and vocational training: a study of general problems as they occur in the case of Provence-Côte-d'Azur. Course for officers at various federation and union levels.

Grenoble Institute

Different categories of courses - Residential courses usually last one week (from Sunday evening to 2 p.m. on Saturday). The Institute also organised four-day non-residential courses.

These courses are intended for trade unionists who have some experience of exercising responsibility within their trade union organisation or within elected representative bodies and who have already attended training sessions run by their organisations.

Depending on the course syllabus, the trainees are officers in "departmental" or local federations, trade unions or trade union branches in undertakings. The courses are also attended by elected representatives on works councils, by employees' delegates and by members of safety and health committees.

In 1972 there were 286 trainees, representing nearly 1,500 trainee-days.

The trainees are selected from names put forward by the trade union organisation. The selection depends on the syllabus, level of training and type of responsibility involved. It covers all "départements" of the Rhône-Alpes region; in 1972 the breakdown was as follows: Isère 151, Drôme 25, Ardèche 12, Savoie 14, Haute-Savoie 11, Rhône 42, Ain 5, Loire 9, other "départements" 17.

Teaching is shared equally between university people or experts and national or regional trade union officers, who are chosen according to their sphere of competence.

There is no general syllabus since each course is specially tailored. The subjects covered may, however, according to the course, be grouped as follows:

Economics: working of the economic system, planning, monetary problems, employment, regional economy, branches of industry, undertakings.

Labour law and social problems: contracts of employment, labour tribunals, trade union law, works councils, employees' delegates.

Means of expression: written and oral expression, graphic techniques, group work.

Developments over recent years - Some of the specialised courses (for employees' delegates, works councils) are run by a team of organisers (two university people and two trade unionists) who take on the entire teaching and direct the group work. This method, which implies that practically no outsiders are called in, cannot be used in all cases since in some subjects, such as economic training, outside experts are still essential.

Another trend in applications has resulted in the organisation of specialised courses requiring very thorough preparation, such as courses on problems of regional economy.

The main difficulty lies in the diversity of the needs of each trade union organisation, which does not always allow the studies made in preparing a course to be reused, either by repeating a particular syllabus or by publishing the material. This raises a problem as regards the status of the teachers or assistant lecturers, whose responsibilities bear little relation to the idea of "service" that is generally associated with this category of university teacher.

Lastly, it may be mentioned that so far the Institute has not been asked to organise any courses on continuing training, although this problem has been dealt with at most of the sessions. In such cases, however, the subject is generally raised by trade unionists responsible for these matters within the trade union organisation. There is likely to be a change here.

Nancy Institute

At present the Institute organises between 9 and 12 weeks of courses a year.

Geographical recruitment - The Workers' Education Centre at Nancy is essentially geared to regional matters. Consequently, most of the trainees come from the four "départements" of Lorraine: Meurthe-et-Moselle, Meuse, Moselle and Vosges. Occasionally there are also some from neighbouring regions such as Haute-Saône, Alsace and Champagne. In addition, the Institute holds a session every year for FO representatives on certain regional land-use planning bodies from all over the country.

Type of courses - The trainees are mostly trade unionists from private undertakings. Generally they have already had some basic trade union training. Because trainees are recruited on a regional basis, however, the Institute accepts trainees with no previous training.

On the other hand, sometimes the same trade unionists attend the Institute for several sessions on different subjects: this has made for continuity in relations with union branches or works councils in a number of Lorraine undertakings, particularly in the iron and steel industry.

Subjects of the sessions - Since 1969, the sessions have been organised around five main subjects: more than half the sessions were focused on the study of trade union functions within the undertaking, whether the subject was tackled from a comprehensive or specialised point of view. Some sessions organised for civil servants and dealing with the specific problems of the civil service can be considered to fall into the same category of courses. An experiment was tried whereby employees from the private sector and civil servants attended the same course to compare their respective situations.

The courses on legal matters relate to two main subjects: contracts of employment and labour tribunals.

The courses on training in economics are intended for trade union officers who already have a good grounding in the subject.

The economic problems of Lorraine have been dealt with either in training sessions on employment and land-use planning (on the basis of decentralisation at the level of "départements"), or in the form of documentation files requested by the unions at one-day seminars organised directly by the latter.

The subject of continuous education is dealt with in response to urgent requests made by the unions since 1971. The sessions are financed in accordance with the terms of collective agreements, and are attended by members of works councils or inter-occupational trade union officers. In view of the regional character of the Institute, the training is extended by maintaining contacts with former trainees who are anxious to obtain information on problems with which they have to deal in their undertakings.

Teaching methods - The first sessions were run along traditional lines and consisted of lectures and debates. The lectures or classes were given by different people according to the subject. The permanent staff of the Institute merely took care of general promotion and co-ordination. In the last two or three years, however, a new system has been devised that corresponds better to the pace of work of the trainees. Two of the Institute's teachers follow the sessions throughout with the trade union group leader. They themselves undertake the main part of the teaching. This has resulted in a bigger role being imparted to group work and to individual research.

A system of this kind, which is effective for the trainees, can be used only if the teachers genuinely form a team and are accustomed to working together. This brings us back to the problem of the status of these teachers, the duration of their functions, and the inclusion in their university careers of the period spent training adults. As the number of sessions increases and more is required of them, it is harder for them to continue their own work on theses and articles.

Lastly, two matters deserve special mention: the first is the fact that trainees are not covered against the risk of accident during the course: the second concerns the fact that trainees are not counted among the student body of the university, which entails the risk in the long run of the subsidy from the Ministry of Education being reconsidered.

Lyons and Bordeaux Institutes

In their communications, the authorities of these institutes have confined themselves to supplying a list of the number of weeks or days devoted to courses: six weeks per year in one case and nine to twelve weeks in the other. Aware that this represents only a very modest achievement, the authorities see no need to go into further detail, particularly since their courses are fairly similar to those organised by other institutes. It should be pointed out, however, that the somewhat meagre nature of these educational activities may be due either to difficulties inherent in the early stage of such a venture, or to the fact that it has not been possible so far to obtain the means of doing more for various reasons, including the lack of enthusiasm for developing workers' education shown by the university in which the institute is incorporated.

On the basis of a systematic comparison between institutes, this rapid outline of educational activities calls for several comments. The two main ones are the following: first of all courses are sometimes limited to less than one week. Admittedly this reduction is sometimes deceptive since the course as a whole may comprise several periods of two or three days that are simply spread out along the lines of the Anglo-Saxon "sandwich course". Nevertheless, this denotes a trend that is hard to reconcile with the "higher" or "complementary" character that is supposed to be imparted to these courses.

The second comment concerns another tendency which, paradoxically, is seen most clearly in the institutes that have the least staff. In such institutes all the teaching and directing of the course, from start to finish, is carried out by the staff of the institute which is made up of permanent university people and a trade union co-director, practically no recourse being had to outside assistance. This may well have its advantages, particularly from the teaching point of view, but it also has its disadvantages: the staff, of whom there are already an insufficient number, are overworked; there is the likelihood of confusion between the duties of managing, directing and teaching once it becomes normal for functions to overlap; the trainees are deprived of contact with teachers combining technical ability with broad experience, such as professional people or trade unionists, of the problems covered. Would not the ideal solution lie in striking a balance between pedagogically adapted assistance from outside and recourse to the permanent staff for the classes and lectures most closely related to their own particular subjects?

DOCUMENTATION AND RESEARCH

SECTION IV

The Bearing of Documentation and Research on Training Courses

The educational work of labour institutes, unlike that which is carried out in other branches of permanent education, is being tentatively developed along various lines; but all of them have this in common - that they result in giving a new impetus to documentation and to research and, indeed, in turning them into an indispensable aspect of the "second wind". The effect is that the function of documentation and research is tending more and more clearly to assume a twofold character, yet without establishing any real connection between the two ways of giving them a new lease of life.

On the one hand, as activities that are closely linked together, if only through a third concept of "documentary research", documentation and research are intended to meet the requirements of the training courses. They are carried out with makeshift means, that is, by full-time teachers who, for the sake of the cause and by reason of their university qualifications which oblige them to be also research workers, devote to them much of their work. In addition, there is the specific assistance of documentalists whose functions in centres of worker education consist in taking part in the preparation of the training course material and in enabling the trainees to broaden their information on the training course programmes and possibly also their knowledge at the more general level of their particular interests and trade union activities. Such a way of putting documentation and research into practice meets directly and in every respect the wishes of the trade union representatives in the councils of the institutes, their desire being that the trainees be given a training which they can assimilate and which is of good quality.

On the other hand, documentation and research are practised on the fringe of the courses yet without ignoring the wishes of the trade unions. The plan fact is that the needs which they are intended to meet are those felt by the trade union organisations at a general level extending far beyond what can and must be done in the training courses. It is clear that, from this point of view, the role played by the teaching staff and the documentalists attached to the worker education centres cannot suffice. It requires the help of a specialised staff of documentalists and research workers. It also requires the institution of an organisational scheme which, while giving documentalists and research workers a role to play in the management of the teaching and research units, affords them a measure of independence in the form of separate centres or sections.

From this point of view, the position of labour institutes is not unlike that of other university laboratories. The staff, who are generally employed on contract owing to the insufficient number of appointments from the National Scientific Research Centre, aspire to a security of tenure extending beyond the duration of the contract as soon as they have proved their competence and their ability to carry out the work successfully. They also want to be free from any constraints other than those deriving from scientific requirements and financial resources; this implies that they may publish the result of their research work as soon as its scientific value has been established.

Viewed in this light, documentation and research are no longer so ineluctably linked together. The main function of the documentation sector is to draw up its programme in such a way that it shall complement that of the corresponding organisations of the trade unions. As for research, it can be undertaken not only at the express request of trade union organisations but also on the initiative of the research workers as soon as they can convince those organisations that it is in the interests of science and of the labour movement to choose this or that question, account being taken of the possibility of securing sufficient means to carry it out.

The difficulty, though again one that is not insurmountable, is to reconcile the desire of the research workers to act in full accordance with the golden rules of their disciplines, on the one hand, with, on the other hand, a freedom for the trade union organisations to refrain from endorsing at the end of the day the results of research work which they might regard as running counter to their objectives. The solution is partly psychological and partly structural: first of all, the research workers, anxious though they may rightly be to be free from restrictions, must realise that it is a privilege to be appreciated to work in the scientific field of labour questions in an institutional framework benefiting from the active participation of trade union organisations, with all the facilities for their work that this implies. Moreover, the fact of having chosen a labour institute expresses their own conviction that the advice and supervision provided by the trade union organisations, which are different in nature from the pressures to which they are exposed under other auspices, may well be innocent of any attempt upon their freedom as research workers: all that is required of them is to show that this freedom, coupled with proper scientific and technical competence, is sufficiently marked by independence from the established authorities for the trade union organisations to put scientific trust in them.

From the structural point of view, a distinction must be drawn between, on the one hand, research work which, once completed, enjoys the unanimous approval of trade union federations represented in the board of the institute concerned and, on the other hand, completed research work that does not receive that approval. Where there is that approval, nothing stands in the way of publication of the results of the research under the name of the institute in question. In the opposite case, the research workers remain free to publish their work without any modifications, but outside the labour institutes in a manner that does not imply the latter's scientific warranty and thus in no way involves the responsibility of the trade union organisations.

Without calling in question the clear distinction between documentation and research activities conducted in connection with the courses and those that are pursued on the fringe of the courses, it would be, in some measure, to ignore facts or possible facts not to note the reciprocal influence of the two forms of activity. There is research work or at least documentary information needed for the courses and used by the teachers which, after fulfilling its educational function, still requires some further investigation that quite naturally devolves on the archivists and research workers acting on the fringe of worker education. Conversely, research on questions not linked to the courses can be regarded by the teachers as meriting use for educational purposes, subject to making it suitable for teaching. It must be admitted that this type of positive and constructive interaction is still largely confined to the realm of possibilities. At present, the reciprocal influence is still of a less positive nature: those institutes which take most pains to prepare their documentary information and to connect their research work with the courses find it difficult to conduct research work effectively outside the courses. On the other hand, the institutes, which have succeeded in record time in setting up and putting to work with adequate means research and documentation teams operating outside the educational framework, appear to regard the help that they give to the trainees with respect to documentation and documentary research as a definite accomplishment dispensing them from exercising their imagination. Yet, in this field as in others, self-satisfaction runs the risk of being a prelude to routine if it is not offset by a ceaseless effort of adaptation to scientific and technical progress.

The Strasbourg Institute

The lack of data on documentation pertaining to the courses may indicate that nothing fundamentally new has occurred in this sector for the past three years. The survey of educational activities does show, however, that stress is laid on the renewal of methods relating to the legal courses and of industrial groups (Péchiney - Usine Kuhlmann or Renault, for example). Now one of the important features of that renewal consists in the methods of assembling and putting into shape the documentation. Nor is that all: an interaction does appear to have grown between, on the one hand, the documentation for the courses and, on the other hand, the research undertaken on the fringe of the courses into the exercise of rights of association within the undertakings.

For the purpose of carrying out that research, the Institute obtained a subsidy of 100,000 francs by a contract entered into with the Committee for the Organisation of Applied Research in the Economic and Social Sciences (CORDES), which is responsible to the Commissioner for the Plan. This made it possible to set up a team of part-time research workers.

The general objective of this research work is to appraise the manner in which the powers of the head of an undertaking and the employees' collective rights in the undertaking are being legally harmonised since the Act of 27 December 1968 came into force.

Three categories of data constitute the basic material for the research. There is, first, jurisprudence: trade union law has given rise to a large mass of case law covering some 3,000 judgments and awards delivered at a whole series of jurisdictional levels. There are, secondly, the agreements - on the one hand, the national, regional and local collective agreements and, on the other hand, the agreements of undertakings. Lastly, there are the trade union journals and studies which provide a source for an analysis of the doctrinal views of specialists in labour law and of trade unions. In addition, there are the factual data for the collecting of which indispensable contacts are maintained with the teams concerned with the sociology of labour.

Furthermore, the Strasbourg Institute has joined with the Grenoble Institute in a long-term research project on data processing in the field of labour law. It will be more convenient to refer to it in connection with the Grenoble Institute which is, in fact, in charge of the project.

The Paris Institute
(Sceaux - Bourg-la-Reine)

Upon completion of the structural reorganisation, this Institute took a further step forward in the organisation of documentation and research on the fringe of the courses though not on the fringe of the wishes of the trade union organisations. Within less than a year, the documentation centre recruited three full-time documentalists and one secretary. It acquired, in addition, functional premises and the deposit therein of the substantial volume of documentation belonging to the National Institute of Labour Documentation and Information (INDIT). The research centre also occupies these premises. In addition to the Institute's administrative infrastructure, it has had from the start the services of an assistant and of two secretaries. For the implementation of its programmes over a period running from October 1972 to August 1974, it already disposes of some 570,000 francs received from the CORDES and from the National Institute of Social Security Research (INRS) of the University of Paris I, to which are likely to be added under a contract entered into with the European Economic Community a further credit of 600,000 francs. These resources have made it possible to recruit on contract a dozen full-time and part-time research workers distributed in two teams.

(a) The main purpose of the documentation centre is to collect and utilise documentation complementing the documentation of the central trade union organisations. The various tasks undertaken by this centre are indicated in the paragraphs that follow.

1. Keeping documentation on labour problems in France constantly up to date. The subjects are chosen by reference to the trade union press so that they may correspond to the needs of the trade union federations. The index cards and files of material are prepared on the basis of an analysis of specialised journals and of the daily and weekly press from whatever source (universities, trade unions, employers). The files are prepared as objectively as possible: they are composed on the basis of extracts from trade union texts and not on an interpretation of the texts. They provide trade union organisations with a useful supplement to the scientific data available to them for their day-to-day activities and even more for their "strategy". They also enable them, as it were, to see themselves from the outside though from an observation post that is by no means extraneous to them.

2. Inventory of university work (theses, monographs, etc.) dealing with labour problems. The regular dispatch to trade union organisations of lists of these works is a service which they appreciate all the more because they have hitherto had no knowledge of them and have consequently had no means of consulting them. It is planned that a copy of all such works shall be deposited with the centre so that their regular analysis shall no longer be a problem.

3. Files of material on particular questions prepared at the request of one or the other of the trade union federations. A file has thus been prepared for the CFDT on the "notion of analysis". A special effort was made to "translate" in an easily accessible and, therefore, not too technical language a series of recent works and articles that are not themselves easily accessible. This was the occasion for reopening a dialogue between the CFDT and the centre as a result of a request for information complementing the information originally provided. This did not prevent the CFDT from comparing the results obtained by the Labour Sociology Institute (ISST) with the conclusions reached on the same subject by another body specialising in documentary research.

4. International documentation published abroad on various labour problems. Thus the General Confederation of Labour (CGT) has requested the centre to prepare a comprehensive file on foreign legislation relating to immigrant workers. This involves, in addition to a wide-ranging inspection of articles and newspapers in foreign languages, the establishment of contact with various foreign and international bodies capable of facilitating the centre's collecting of information. A similar request relates to the problems which the development of multinational companies raises for trade union organisations throughout the world.

There is also a question of requesting the centre to assemble and process documents of all kinds emanating from employers and dealing with labour problems. It seems doubtful, however, whether the centre is in a position to give effect to that request.

(b) The research work falls into two groups, one of them concerned with problems of biotechnology and the other with the most pressing aspects of training of workers.

The biotechnological research work consists of two simultaneous studies of industrial fatigue and its relationship to alternating hours of work. The method of investigation consists in an intensive longitudinal inquiry into mental fatigue connected with a supervisory job in an automated environment, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, in a non-automated steelworks. The aim is to detect and weigh the incidence of factors modifying the previous work.

The research work on the training of workers constitutes the opening phase of a wide programme relating to the relations between individual and group training of workers - a question raising a whole set of problems that were discussed in No. 13 of the review "Permanent Education".

In a first subgroup, an attempt is being made to bring up to date everything which, in France since 1945, is associated with the word and the notion of "collective" in the training of workers with regard to worker and trade union education, which is, by its very nature, collective, and to occupational training viewed in those respects in which it may already range beyond individual training. The documents that have been examined include trade union, governmental and employers' publications. Such a study which, of course, has to take very much into account the contribution of linguistics, serves in a way to introduce the whole programme.

The second subgroup forms part of the investigations by means of inquiries into the new collective aspects of technico-occupational and general training of workers. The aim is to bring into these branches of training, if not explicitly what is "collective", at any rate what is "non-individual" at the level of both opinions and educational practices and from a wide variety of angles: motivations and objectives, organisation, management and working of the educational institution (including their bearing on workers undergoing training) and types of activity relating to the content, the spirit and the methods of the teaching.

The inquiry relates to three different groups of persons: production workers undergoing, or who have undergone, training, trade union officials concerned with education and non-trade-union educators and adult workers. In the case of the first group, following upon a pre-inquiry phase of free discussion based on a very general guide and qualitatively exploited by means of an analytical grid, a questionnaire has been prepared and is to be distributed in October-November 1973 to more than 600 of them selected either from undertakings (having their own educational activities) or from public and private adult training institutions depending on whether the need has been felt or has been expressed formally or informally. In the case of the two other groups, neither of which exceeds in number about thirty, the inquiry will be carried out in the form of semi-controlled discussions based on a detailed guide. It goes without saying that an attempt will be made to compare the results obtained from the three groups in so far as the interaction of quantitative and qualitative features make such comparisons feasible. One of the original aspects of this research work and one that has not been the easiest to organise is that it is carried out jointly in France, the United Kingdom, Sweden and the Federal Republic of Germany by teams having, respectively, these nationalities and taken over by organisations of their respective countries - all of it on the basis of a set of problems common to all of them in their main respects but adapted, of course, to the particular conditions of the national environment. A meeting to consider methodological harmonisation and to exchange the first results obtained will take place in the autumn of 1973 at Bourg-la-Reine, at which each team will be represented.

The fact that no reference is made to documention connected with the courses does not mean that there is nothing to report. A first point to note is that the service in charge is working very well. Laudable efforts and much skill are being devoted to the purpose of meeting adequately and in an original way the needs of the trainees (dispatch of questionnaire before the course, readily accessible exhibitions of works and articles pertaining to each course, preparation of select and annotated bibliographies). Nevertheless, documentation runs up against the trainees' lack of enough time to benefit from the library, much as many of them would like to. Nor has it been easy for the library to obtain the full and indispenable co-operation of the assistants in the establishment of the files and in keeping them up to date.

The Grenoble Institute

Until recently, circumstances have not really enabled the Institute to develop its own research work other than personal work dependent on the hazards of interruptions. The attachment of the Institute to the IREP has nevertheless largely made up for that disability.

The research subjects are directly related either to the educational activities or to the questions of concern to the trade union organisations, with which regular working sessions on this subject are arranged.

Thanks to a subsidy from the National Inter-occupational Centre for the Productivity of Undertakings (CNIPE), a research project has been undertaken on the information and participation of the works committee with regard to economic and management questions. The general aim of this research is to examine the social demand for economic information that has appeared under a variety of forms in recent decades, as well as the similarly highly varied attempts to participate in the economic decisions of undertakings that have been made by social partners having no legal right to such participation but who bear the brunt of the decisions. A series of "intermediate studies" have already been made in conjunction with case studies of works committees: a statistical study of elections to works committees from 1966 to 1972; a bibliographical inquiry into the functions of employers with regard to the role played by works committees in economic matters; an analysis of the method of assistance given by auditors to works committees; a detailed study of the various forms of representation but with special reference to two groups: Renault and Rhône-Poulenc.

Another large-scale research project that has been undertaken covers a study and systematisation of legal terminology in the field of labour law; it is being carried out under the aegis of a scientific committee comprising, at the national level, various specialists (teachers, trade unionists, lawyers, magistrates). The long-term aim is nothing less than to establish a documentary system by means of computers and covering the whole of labour law. In the shorter run, all that is planned is to computerise local case law. The work being done on this basis assumes three forms: collecting, storing and selection of information; choice of a system of recording and of "descriptive" terms; working out of a logical and organised method of analysis with a view to the compilation of a "thesaurus".

Organised separately from the Grenoble Institute but working side by side with it, there is a centre of regional documentation on employment problems. It may be noted, too, that the Institute organises periodical symposia in connection with its courses; they provide a valuable form of information, especially for the trade unions. For example, a symposium on some labour health problems is to be held in the course of the coming months. As a result of an initiative taken by the Institute's trade union partners, financial resources have been appropriated for research work on the need for permanent training in four undertakings in the region of Grenoble:

The Aix-en-Provence Institute

In this Institute, documentation and research have hitherto been carried out in connection with the courses and have been sufficiently developed to provide material for publication. An increasingly systematic effort is made to buttress each main theme of the courses (leadership and powers of expression, labour law, regional economics, occupational training and employment, management) with one or more publications (already issued or in the course of preparation).

At the request of the trade union organisations, the Institute has thus been mainly engaged for more than two years in work relating to the problems of Provence and the Riviera. In connection with, and following upon, the courses, documentary information has been prepared on the active population, employment and the major industries and industrial sectors of the region, as well as various monographs on Toulon, the Alpes Maritimes, and Fos. This initial material, which has been widely distributed after being tested in the courses, is used outside the Institute by the unions of the *départements* and the local trade unions.

So far as the industrial pattern and employment in the Provence-Riviera region is concerned, a regional labour institute team is putting the finishing touches to a project which, while making full use of the facilities provided by the courses, is much wider in scope. The initial basic work consists in the establishment of a card index of the main industrial undertakings in the region by amalgamating the information immediately available with information obtained ad hoc. It is planned, furthermore, to assemble some external information relating to the structure, significance and development of the major national and international groups making an impact on the region. This will lead to a fuller description of the regional pattern. All that will then remain to be done is to link the industrial information with the statistical data on employment so as to arrive at a fuller knowledge of the economic and social life of regional industry as a whole.

The Regional Labour Institute is concerned also to carry out studies on permanent education. A first booklet of some 200 pages appeared at the end of 1972. It contains an historical sketch of vocational training, an analysis of the subject matter of laws, decrees and agreements and an examination of the relevant attitudes adopted by French employers. A research project on regional needs in the field of permanent occupational training has been prepared and, at the beginning of 1973, was awaiting only financial resources in order to be carried out.

Furthermore, a revised and expanded edition of the handbook on social legislation prepared by the Institute appeared at the beginning of 1973. Research is under way on adult education, coupled with a study of current teaching methods and educational theories.

Lastly, the work undertaken on labour law procedures, which has been delayed by the various judicial reforms, is progressing satisfactorily.

In the case of the Institutes of Nancy, Lyons and Bordeaux, there is nothing new to report with regard to documentation and research. These institutes are, of course, also preparing files of documents for the courses. In the case of the Nancy Institute, it received requests for documentation on the occasion of the trade union study meetings held outside the Institute. Furthermore, by reason of its regional character, this Institute receives from former trainees requests for information on the problems of their undertakings. To the training work is thus added a documentation activity (especially on the regional economy and on the decisions of the social tribunal of the Court of Appeal).

ANNEX 1

UNIVERSITY OF PARIS I. PANTHEON-SORBONNE

Labour Sociology Institute

Report on Activities in 1971

In 1971, the Centre organised eighteen weeks of courses and thirteen sessions as follows:

January - Changes in the structure of undertakings and supervisory staff trade unionism (one week), twenty-six trainees. Course organised for the senior staff of the General Union of Engineers, Supervisory Staff and Technicians of the General Confederation of Labour (CGT). In this course, an examination was made of the effects of industrial changes on the status, remuneration, employment and occupational training of supervisory staff.

February - Training in economics (two weeks), twenty-four trainees. Session intended for senior trade union staff of the Federation of Public Works and Transport of the CGT-FO. Training in economics (economic organisation, economic situation, demography, employment and occupational training; foreign examples: Sweden, Japan, Federal Republic of Germany). Data processing in social security organisations (one week), twenty-two trainees. Course organised for the senior staff of the French Federation of Trade Unions of Social Security Personnel (CFDT). Information on data-processing techniques and on the policies of the national social security funds; study of the effect of the spread of data processing on staff careers.

March - Legal training (public sector) (two weeks), twenty-six trainees. Course organised for the senior staff of the General Union of Federations of Civil Servants (CGT). This course was concerned mainly with a study of the main provisions of the Civil Service Code and of the administrative reforms.

April - Training in economics (two weeks), twenty-four trainees. Senior staff of the Iron and Steel Federation (CGT-FO). Economic organisation and study of problems relating to the policy of labour contracts in France and in some European countries. Training in economics (one week), thirty trainees. Course intended for the active members of the CFDT Union for the Paris region. Economic system; Fourth Plan; and one day devoted to the problem of transport in the Paris region.

June - The Post and Telegraph Public Service (one week), thirty trainees. Session intended for the senior staff of the Federation of Unionised Employees of the Post and Telegraph Service (CGT-FO). Study of current technological and economic changes and of their effects on the working of the post and telegraph public service. (Automation, concentrations, planning, role of public undertakings, etc.)

October - Training in economics (one week), twenty-five trainees. Course organised for the senior staff of the Electricity and Gas Federation (CGT-FO). One part of the session was devoted to training in general economics; the other, to problems of energy in France and in the world. Data processing in social security organisations (one week), twenty trainees. The Federation of Social Security Officials (CFDT) brought together twenty trainees who had attended previous sessions on the same subject. The growth of data-processing centres during the past year and changes in the policies of the national social security funds were studied.

November - Trade unionism of supervisory staff (two weeks), twenty-three trainees. Session intended for engineers and supervisory staff of the CGT. Principal topics: participation in selected management functions; permanent training of supervisory staff; supervisory staff and works committees; supervisory staff and labour security. *Occupational training of female workers* (one week), twenty trainees. The whole week was devoted to a study of this topic for the members of the Committee on Female Workers of the CGT.

December - *Women in the community* (two weeks), twenty-four trainees. Trainees from the CFDT. The role and status of women in the community (the points of view of historians, psychologists and sociologists). Impact on the work of women. *Training in economics* (one week), twenty-eight trainees. Trainees of the CFDT Union for the Paris region. The economic system, French planning and planning in the socialist countries. Problems of transport in the Paris region.

ANNEX 2

UNIVERSITY OF PARIS I. PANTHEON-SORBONNE

Labour Sociology Institute

Programme for 1973

1 week	14 to 20 Jan.	CFDT	Confederal Institute of Training and Studies. Training of trainers; teaching methods.
1 week	21 to 27 Jan.	CGT	Administrators of mutual savings funds: organisation and management of mutual savings funds.
2 weeks	11 to 24 Feb.	FO	Public health services. Senior staff of public health unions: organisation of the public health service; hospital problems.
2 weeks	4 to 17 March	CGT	General union of federations of civil servants. Senior staff of unions and federations: legal training (Civil Service Code; legal action by unions).
2 weeks	25 March to 7 April	FO	Federation of employees and supervisors (FO). Senior staff of banking and insurance unions and federations: general training in economics and introduction to monetary problems.

week	13 to 19 May	CFDT	Paris regional union. Senior staff of trade unions and members of works committees: economic structures and situations; environmental problems in the Paris region.
weeks	28 May to 9 June	FO	Federation of private transport. Training course in economics. Current legal questions.
weeks	17 to 23 June	CGT	Legal committee. Members of conciliation boards. Legal training: labour laws.
week	3 Sept. to 6 Oct.	CFDT	Paris regional union. Same subject as for the course from 13 to 19 May. Trade unions and economic growth.
week	14 to 20 Oct.	CGT	General union of engineers, supervisory staff and technicians. Senior trade union officials. Changes in the structure of undertakings and in methods of management.
week	28 Oct. to 3 Nov.	CFDT	Joint committee of the CFDT. Senior staff of federations: family policy in France.
week	11 to 17 Nov.	CFDT	Paris regional union. Senior staff of unions: town planning in the Paris region, problems of housing and transport (sic), economic growth.
week	25 Nov. to 1 Dec.	CGT	Female workers' committee. Members of the committee. Occupational training of female workers.
week	2 to 10 Dec.	CFDT	Social sector. Administrators of supplementary pensions funds; systems of old-age pensions. Management of supplementary pensions funds.

Appendix VI

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN UNIVERSITIES IN JAPAN

(Information Paper)

Shin-ichiro KANAI

Introduction

After the Second World War workers' education in Japan changed and developed on an entirely different level. It can be classified roughly into the following four groups, according to the type of operation.

(1) Professional and technical education offered by an enterprise to its workers. This had been the main current of workers' education in pre-war Japan. During the process of economic development and technical renovation after the war, this type of education has been continued in the large enterprises.

(2) Workers' education carried on by the unions. This is the education provided by the labour unions for their upper- and middle-level union leaders to strengthen their labour movement and to enlighten the rank and file members of the unions.

(3) Workers' education offered by various voluntary bodies. Many voluntary bodies take part in workers' education. Let's take some examples. The national headquarters of a labour union may tie up with a certain interested political party in workers' education. University professors or men with relevant knowledge may co-operate with a labour union. Again, some Christian organisations such as the United Church of Christ in Japan, the Catholic Church, the Nippon Christian Academy, or the YMCA, etc., may provide labour unions with specialised workers' education.

(4) Workers' education by government and municipal organisations. The Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Education and certain local governmental bodies offer workers' education regarding the practical information on labour law, labour economy, social security, etc. in order to develop a foundation for democratic labour-management relations, which the new labour laws aim at in post-war Japan.

To carry out the workers' education of these four types, university professors very often co-operate individually in offering professional knowledge, but the university itself as an organisation has seldom been related to it.

Among the above-mentioned four groups, group 4 is most outstanding in Japan. That is, government and municipal organisations play an important role in workers' education. After the war the nature of their workers' education has changed considerably but it is striking that, as far as the number and range of participants are concerned, this is always foremost among the four groups.

Why has this tendency developed in post-war Japan? The occupation forces took the initiative in establishing and developing new labour-management relations, and after the recovery of sovereignty the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Education came to take the initiative in workers' education. At first the labour unions and industry were generally co-operative with the Government, but after 1960 the labour unions, especially of big enterprises, inaugurated their own workers' education programme. On the other hand, the workers of small and middle-sized enterprises, who have been less well organised, have come to participate in the government-sponsored workers' education instead.

The labour unions of big enterprises tended to put great emphasis on their workers' education, but after 1960 the nature of their education tended to change; that is, workers' education based on a specific ideology or on a political standpoint was no longer so conspicuous. Based on the concepts of the labour union movement, they put more emphasis on the education of their union leaders and members, offering them practical knowledge and general education so that they might be prepared to cope with the changes in industrial structure or technical advances. This tendency is especially characteristic of the labour unions of private industries.

On the other hand, it is obvious that the labour unions of private industries need closer co-operation with university professors in developing their workers' education. The structure of modern industrial society will become increasingly more complicated, and with the continuing internationalisation of the economy, more professional advice and guidance will be needed to understand various problems the labour unions are facing. Here lies the university's role in workers' education.

DEVELOPMENTS

As stated above, the Ministry of Labour has carried the heaviest burden for labour education in Japan. But in 1958, when the Japan Institute of Labour was established as an outside organisation of the Ministry of Labour, a new development in workers' education became evident. Until that time, the Labour Policy Division of the Ministry of Labour had supervised workers' education, and their plans were implemented by each local government. But with the establishment of the Japan Institute of Labour, the central Government itself also began to carry out workers' education.

The Japan Institute of Labour has full-time researchers and staff members, and the University of Tokyo officially co-operates with them in their activities of research, surveys and education. In addition many professors and researchers from other universities are also co-operating individually with them.

At the same time, we also have the first regular workers' education programme inaugurated by a labour union in co-operation with a university in Japan, and that is the Labour Leadership Course of IMF-JC (the International Metal Workers' Federation - Japan Council). The IMF-JC officially opened this epoch-making project in co-operation with Meiji Gakuin University in Tokyo in July 1967.

The Economic and Industrial Research Institute affiliated with the College of Economics at Meiji Gakuin University is in charge of this project. On the one hand, the Institute organised a Labour Leadership Course Committee at Meiji Gakuin University, and on the other, the IMF-JC has its own Education Committee, and these two committees consult and plan the project every year.

To begin with, brief mention should be made about the IMF-JC. The IMF is a free-world international labour union in the leading iron industries, such as iron-works, ship-building, electrical machines and automobiles, with 10 million members. The IMF-JC is a Japanese labour union which belongs to the IMF. It was established in May 1964, and this year marks the ninth anniversary of its establishment. It had 540,000 members when established, and today it has more than 1,800,000 members. It is striking that the number of its members has increased so rapidly and will soon reach the 2 million mark, which was the first goal of its establishment. This organisation is different from other labour organisations such as Sohyo or Domei, and it is a new face in the labour world of Japan. It is now taking the initiative in the reorganisation of the labour front of this country.

When this new labour union inaugurated its educational project in co-operation with Meiji Gakuin University, a number of leading daily newspapers, such as Asahi Shimbun, Tokyo Shimbun, etc. favourably reported on the new project throughout the country, and it attracted the attention of all parties concerned with the role of labour in Japanese society.

The following is the memorandum which was exchanged to mark the beginning of the relationship between the IMF-JC and Meiji Gakuin University.

MEMORANDUM

Meiji Gakuin University and the IMF-JC have exchanged the following memorandum signifying their intention to co-operate with each other in opening a Labour Leadership Course:

1. Name: Meiji Gakuin University Labour Leadership Course
2. Aim: This Course is designed to offer fundamental workers' education at the university level to labour union leaders working for the main industries in Japan, to strengthen the function of the labour union to enable them to cope with the changes and complexities of modern industrial society, to establish reasonable labour-management relations, to develop labour welfare, and thereby to contribute to the development of industrial society.
3. Operating body: The Economic and Industrial Research Institute of Meiji Gakuin University.
4. Period of instruction: 6-26 July 1967 (from 9.00 am to 4.00 pm).

(Note: Since 1968 the Course has been conducted for 3 weeks in November or in December.)

5. Place: The campus of Meiji Gakuin University

(Note: Due to the riots of radical students on the campus, the Course has been offered at some other location since 1968.)

6. Curriculum and instructor: The curriculum, instructors and timetable shall be set in consultation between the University and the Council.

7. Expenses: The expenses of the Course will be shared between the University and the Council after consultation.

(See 6 above) The Meiji Gakuin University Labour Leadership Course Committee shall decide on the curriculum and select the instructors. The Committee, however, shall consult the IMF-JC Education Committee in this matter.

7 June 1967

(Signed)

Shin-ichiro Kanai
Chairman, the Meiji Gakuin University
Labour Leadership Course Committee

(Signed)

Kenjiro Saito
Chairman, the IMF-JC Education
Committee

CURRICULUM

Meiji Gakuin University and the IMF-JC consulted about the course of instruction, and the IMF-JC entrusted this matter to Meiji Gakuin University. Meiji Gakuin University selected the following subjects for 1967. The numbers in parentheses indicate the hours of instruction.

Economic History (3)
International Economics I (3)
International Economics II (3)
Theory of Japanese Economy (3)
History of the Labour Movement (6)
Political Science (3)
Industrial Psychology (3)
Social Psychology (3)

Economic Policy I (6)
Economic Policy II (6)
Economic History (6)
Public Finance (3)
Accounting (3)
General Theory of Industry (3)
Theory of Labour Relations (3)
History of Social Thought (3)

Labour Law (9)

Social Policy (6)

IMF-JC and the Labour Movement (3)

In 1972 the above-mentioned curriculum was revised as follows:

Labour Law (3)
International Labour Law (3)
Theory of Japanese Economy (3)

Managerial Science (3)
Social Policy (6)

Labour Administration (3)

International Finance (6)
World Economics (6)
Economic Theory (6)

Industrial Psychology (3)
Economic Policy (6)
Theory of Economic Growth (6)
Labour Economics (6)
History of Labour Movement (3)
History of Social Thought (3)
Economic History (3)
Political Science (3)
Theory of Leisure (3)

In addition to the above subjects, the participants were assigned to take one of the following seminars of 6 hours, Labour Problems, Economic Policy, and International Finance. They also heard two lectures especially designed for them in the evening after dinner.

From 1967 to 1971, the participants each made two visits to factories, but in 1972 this was discontinued due to the limited schedule of the project. In 1971 and 1972 we had a reception during the course, to which were invited all those who had studied in previous years. This seemed to be much appreciated.

Finally, I would like to evaluate our experience of the last 6 years in conducting this Labour Leadership Course. It must be admitted first of all that workers' education of this kind cannot produce an immediate effect on the labour movement. We are confident that it will help the union leaders in their activities in the long run, and I personally know of such practical results of this Course. First of all there is of course the substantive intellectual training of men who are themselves high school or university graduates. But that is not the most remarkable result. It is rather, that these busy leaders are released for a period from their normal busy schedule of daily work and are brought into a situation where their eyes are opened, their outlook is widened and their thinking is deepened as they are encouraged to consider themselves and their responsibilities. We are very happy and think that our efforts have been rewarded, when we hear from various union leaders who have participated in our project that they are carrying out their responsibilities in the day-to-day labour movement more positively than ever before.

Meanwhile, we expected at first that some other universities might imitate us and start a similar programme of workers' education. But no university has followed us, and we are somewhat disappointed in this respect. For one thing, radical student movements and riots have swept most university campuses here in recent years, and the universities have been too busy to offer workers' education as a part of social education. Secondly, professors of social science in Japanese universities have a peculiar intellectual problem; that is, the strong influence of Marxism prevents them from undertaking workers' education. Left-wing professors severely criticise the present labour movement, saying that it is not progressive, and they do not admit the value of labour education of this kind. They even disapprove of the tie-up between the university and the labour union of a big enterprise which they consider to be "conservative". Despite this attitude, however, not only the IMF-JC labour unions but also other labour unions have come to ask for the universities' or university professors' co-operation in the education of their leadership.

For example, since 1969 the IMF-JC has been offering its Labour Leadership Course in co-operation with Meiji Gakuin University not only in Eastern Japan but also in Western Japan in co-operation with the Nippon Christian Academy. Both Courses are offered every year and the total number of participants has reached more than 160. I trust we are justified in believing that these participants have exerted a great influence on their labour movement.

Lastly, we must make our philosophy of workers' education clear enough to fulfil the purpose of workers' education, as stated in the above memorandum. Since Japanese labourers have long been compelled to live a life of poverty under oppressive conditions, the philosophy of the labour movement has often been that of a "fight against capital" or a "liberation from capitalism". But we cannot measure their life today on the basis of their past experience. Japanese society may not be said to have yet become an "affluent society", but the labourers' demand in the past for "subsistence wages" is no longer central in the movement of the present time.

Today they demand not only a sharp wage increase, but also the reduction of working hours or longer leisure time, the improvement of pensions and annuities, and their own houses to live in. Their demands have become greatly increased in recent years. On the other hand, besides their material happiness, they also have come to seek enrichment of mind or a "life worth living". This tendency has become more and more conspicuous among the younger generation. The young people criticise the present labour unions for not fulfilling other demands besides increase in wages, and are likely to lose their union consciousness.

Under these circumstances, the labour union today is groping for a new course for their labour movement and for a new philosophy of workers' education. If a university is to co-operate with them in workers' education, it can no longer perform its role, without taking up the full range of problems with which labour is rightfully concerned.

Appendix VII

THE BRITISH EXPERIENCE AND PRESENT SITUATION

(Information Paper)

H.D. HUGHES and A.H. THORNTON

INTRODUCTION

It is rarely possible (and never so in the case of British institutions) to avoid a reference to history. This is as true of the relationship between universities and workers' education as it is of any other social development.

By the first decade of this century working-class movements had become increasingly conscious that political power might be within their grasp. The Liberal Parliament of 1906 contained the first significant number of working-class members and the new party they represented could at last see a clear possibility of attaining political power through the parliamentary system. Trade union membership was rapidly expanding among clerical as well as manual workers. If this opportunity was to be grasped, the education of workers, both those who voted and those who were to be elected, was seen to be essential. But what kind of education? Certainly not "education for revolution", for power was to be achieved through the existing political system, nor by its overthrow. The demand of workers, therefore, was for the *same kind of education* which had served the ruling class so well throughout the history of British parliamentary democracy. To achieve this the working-class movement turned directly to the universities - specifically to the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge, both of which had already shown some inclination to operate outside their walls in the community at large.

The working class demand, when it came, was a direct one. At a seminar-conference in Oxford in 1907 it was expressed with classic simplicity by a Portsmouth docker called McTavish, "I am not here as a suppliant for my class. I decline to sit at the rich man's gate praying for crumbs. I claim for my class all the best that Oxford University has to give".

So, from the very beginning, there was established a direct link between workers' education and the universities on the basis of a response by the universities to the needs and demands of workers. The situation was quickly formalised by the establishment of a joint committee between the Workers' Educational Association (at that time the expression of the educational aspect of the working-class movement) and the University of Oxford. Students on the one hand and university dons on the other sat down to decide *together* the progress of workers' education. Even at this early stage a third partner in the enterprise makes an appearance - the Board of Education. Sir Robert Morant, Secretary to the Board, said in 1907, "The Board is looking for ways to forward this movement. It is to serious study in small groups that we can give increasingly of the golden stream." This three-way connection has continued and developed unbroken, though not unchanged, from its beginnings to the present day. Its history has not been entirely free from conflict. Before the First World War there was one school of thought and action which felt very strongly that the WEA/university connection expressed an altogether too easy acceptance of the existing system. This wing of the workers' educational movement wanted to see a much more overt and possibly revolutionary opposition to the system as such. In the end it broke away from the main movement and established the National Council of Labour Colleges independent both of the universities and the WEA. Only in relatively recent times have the two come together by the absorption of the NCLC in the education structures of the Trades Union Congress.

After the First World War a government committee on post-war reconstruction produced (among other things) a seminar report on adult education - the "1919 Report". The main, practical consequence of this Report was the foundation in a number of British universities of "extramural" departments, that is: university departments whose sole concern was the development of work of a university character for whomsoever wanted it in the general community outside the walls. Nottingham University set up the first of these departments in 1920 and instituted the first Chair of Adult Education in 1922. The importance of this development lies in the fact that it is the expression of a university's recognition of its obligation to teach and to promote education in society as a whole. The extramural department has parity with internal departments and commands university resources exactly as internal departments do. In addition, it receives some 75 per cent of its teaching costs in direct grant from the Department of Education and Science.

All universities having extramural departments followed the Oxford example and set up joint committees with the Workers' Educational Association. Thus the right of students to have an equal voice with the universities in controlling their own educational affairs spread throughout the movement and still operates where joint committees or similar organisations exist. The newer universities, founded mainly in the 1960s, have not on the whole followed the old pattern. Those of them that have done anything at all in this field have tended to set up an administrative unit through which (it is hoped) all departments and faculties will channel the extramural activities they generate themselves. Some of the most successful of these units (e.g. in the University of Sussex) are beginning to look more and more like extramural departments of the older kind, appointing their own academic staff and promoting their own programmes.

SECTION I. THE RESIDENTIAL COLLEGES

From their early days, British trade unions realised the value of collaboration with university professors and teachers sympathetic to their development, who could advise them on problems facing them e.g. industrial law, arbitration in relation to collective bargaining, economic, social and political questions. This led to various forms of partnership in the field of trade union and workers' education. Ruskin College, Oxford was founded in 1899 with trade union support to provide an institution of higher study giving an opportunity for men (and, later, women) coming from trade unions and workers' movements (mainly without formal school or educational qualifications) to receive an education broadly equivalent to that provided by universities. Its founders believed that the leaders of the trade union and labour movement should have educational opportunities to enable them to meet representatives of management and government agencies on equal terms. There are now seven residential colleges of this type in the United Kingdom providing courses of one or two years' duration: Fiscroft College, Birmingham (men); Hillcroft College (women); Coleg Harlech, Wales; Neubattle Abbey, Scotland; Plater College, Oxford (Roman Catholic); the Co-operative College, Loughborough; and Ruskin. With the exception of Hillcroft, all these colleges are recognised by their neighbouring universities and provide, among other things, courses in social studies leading to diplomas validated by the universities. They remain independent colleges, governed by bodies representative of the trade unions and similar movements. They are recognised by the Department of Education, which provides some two-thirds of their budget by direct grants. The remainder of the budget is met by scholarships and awards provided either by trade unions or local education authorities. They admit annually some 400 students. Those receiving trade union scholarships are selected jointly by the colleges and the trade unions. The London School of Economics (University of London) provides a similar internal one-year course for approximately twenty trade union students. Whilst the colleges provide their own teaching programmes, the universities provide various facilities - Ruskin College students can attend university lectures and seminars; use university libraries; and participate in the extracurricular life of university students. Their diplomas are recognised as the equivalent of university matriculation, and some fourteen universities regard them as the equivalent of the first year of a university degree, enabling the student to transfer to a university and complete an honours degree (B.A. or B.Sc.) in a further two years' study. Though the main purpose of the colleges is not to prepare their students for university entrance, in modern times some two-thirds of the students go on to take degrees or similar qualifications, thereby equipping themselves for appointment as trade union research or education officers, or to take up teaching posts in workers' education. Whilst many adult college graduates would ideally like trade union posts, the openings are comparatively few. In 1960-65 some seventy Ruskin graduates entered trade union employment, at various levels. About one-third of the output of the London School of Economics' course hold trade union appointments. Comparatively few "cross the floor" to management; many find employment in teaching or research in industrial relations. They may in this way be making as great a contribution to trade union development, and to workers' education, as they could do in direct trade union service. Even those few who do "cross the floor" take with them an understanding of and sympathy for the situation of the worker.

SECTION II. UNIVERSITIES AND WORKERS' EDUCATION - THE CURRENT SITUATION

It would be quite misleading to suggest that university extramural departments, as they developed over the last fifty years, have been exclusively or even primarily concerned with workers' education. On the contrary, by the 1950s, it became clear that their student body consisted very largely of middle-class people, many of them with more than minimal formal education and all of them knowing their way about the educational system. Even the Workers' Educational Association itself in many places revealed a similar middle-class bias. This was a far cry from the high hopes of Oxford in 1907 where the vision had been of an alliance between the universities and working-class educational movements. But if the vision had faded, at least it left behind it a conscience and that conscience stirred a number of universities (including Nottingham, Sheffield, London, Hull, Keele, Liverpool, Manchester, Oxford, Leeds and Wales) into thinking again about their association with workers' education. Why were we failing by the 1950s to attract workers in any significant numbers to our courses and classes? The answer was in essence a very simple one: we had nothing to say to them as workers. We had plenty to say if they were interested as individuals in history or archaeology or philosophy or biology or in any one of a dozen other subjects but nothing to say to them specifically as workers except in a very small number of work-related courses. Moreover, it had become very difficult for them, as individuals, to join university-provided courses, because to do so they had to overcome social barriers and barriers of education which made them feel "this is not for us". How were we to get over these difficulties and do something to redress the social imbalance in our student body?

It is important to realise that there were many people in universities and in their extramural departments who wanted to make a fresh start in the association between universities and workers' education and who were prepared to argue that time and resources should be given to it. In a number of universities, these arguments succeeded but the question of how the fresh start was to be made still had to be solved. Again, in essence, the answer proved to be a simple one: if universities are failing to recruit workers to courses established on a neighbourhood basis then why not try recruiting them directly from their industrial community? The result of adopting this policy has been a new flowering in the university relationship with workers' education in Britain. The Appendix to this paper shows something of the extent of this flowering over the past fifteen years or so. What it does not show is that the relationship on the ground between individual universities and its worker-students and between particular universities and individual unions is now one of warmth, confidence and co-operation. It remains to establish the same kind of relationship between the universities and the TUC.

SECTION III. THE TRADE UNIONS AND WORKERS' EDUCATION

A few years after the establishment of Ruskin College, the trade unions entered into active partnership with the Workers' Educational Association and, through their affiliation to the WEA, with joint programmes with university extramural departments, as described below. This made possible the provision of a wide range of courses throughout the country to meet the needs of trade union students for evening classes, weekend schools and day-release courses.

The Trades Union Congress education scheme, organised on a regional basis, catered for some 16,000 trade-union students in 1972-73, as follows:

Linked Weekend Courses	Courses		Students	
- Industrial Relations	77		918	
- Trade Union Functions	18		363	
- Economic Subjects	9	77	172	1 453
Weekend Schools				
-	111		2 050	
-	91		1 591	
-	31	255	574	4 215
Day Schools				
-	47		1 119	
-	26		625	
-	17	90	405	2 149
Evening Classes				
-	54		670	
-	11		140	
-	6		74	884
Day-Release Courses - Industrial Relations (mainly for workplace representatives)	541			7 627
				16 328

(In addition, the TUC postal courses service catered for 5,507 students.)

The teaching of these courses, on syllabi agreed with the TUC, is provided mainly by the WEA, a number of university extramural departments and about 100 polytechnics and technical colleges, many of them staffed by graduates of Ruskin and the other adult colleges. The students are selected by the trade unions. In addition to the TUC programme, a number of universities, the WEA and technical colleges provide courses for individual trade unions.

The WEA have been able to make some thirty to forty special appointments of tutor-organisers to work with the trade unions in this programme and extramural departments also have specialised staff. The work is inevitably specialised and organised separately from the main adult-education provision. Through the trade union education programme, however, some trade unionists find their way into broader adult education. A proportion go on to the adult colleges like Ruskin. In a number of areas, "industrial" branches of the WEA are being formed to promote follow-on courses open to those who have benefited from the TUC scheme.

Owing to the limitation of resources for expenditure on education[1], the TUC has been forced to define within specific limits the range of courses which it is prepared to support financially.

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[1] The TUC spent 144,000 pounds on the regional education scheme in 1972-73.

It distinguishes "trade union education" as distinct from vocational education on the one hand, and from broader adult education on the other. The purpose of trade union education "is to contribute to the efficient and effective functioning of trade unions". The students must therefore be selected primarily by the trade unions, from those actively engaged in trade union work. The range of subjects includes industrial relations, those aspects of economics which are relevant to collective bargaining and to implications of governmental economic policies for trade unions, those aspects of the theory and practice of government which are relevant to trade union structure and government, the position of trade unions in society and the state, trade union and industrial law, trade union aspects of management techniques and organisation and methods of work, questions of workers' participation in the management and control of industry, and the basic skills of communications and the understanding of methematical and statistical techniques. The TUC insists that trade unions must be fully involved in planning the programmes, including syllabi, tutors, teaching methods and materials. It is also interested in "cost effectiveness" - day-release courses are given high preference as compared with weekend or summer schools.

Whilst strongly supporting the development of "broader education for trade unionists", the TUC takes the view that these should be provided and supported from public funds, as part of the general adult education provision and not financed by the trade unions. Universities and the WEA sometimes find the TUC priorities rather limiting in scope. The initial concentration on the industrial interests of trade unions is, however, likely to be widened to include the social and political objectives of trade unions. As British trade unions have always defined their objectives in broad terms, this opens up almost the whole field of social studies.

The above definition of trade union education is drawn from the TUC evidence to the Russell Committee, an official inquiry into adult education in England and Wales which reported in March 1973. The Committee recommended that the work of the universities on adult education should continue, including "industrial education, namely courses of a liberal and academic character related to human relationships rather than technical processes, for all levels of industry from management to shop floor".

The special contribution of the universities to adult education was seen as including "role education" for occupational groups; research projects; training of adult educators; development or pioneer work in connection with special problems of adult education; provision for adult access to graduation. All these are clearly related to the needs of workers' education.

We give in Appendix 2 an extract from the Report on Adult Education in Relation to Industry (paragraphs 265-274).

The TUC has welcomed the report and called upon the Government to implement it forthwith. It takes exception, however, to the implications of a sentence in the report indicating that industrial relations can best be studied by "the two sides of industry joining to study the subject together".

"They strongly question the educational value of joint courses from either a management or a trade union point of view. Any such course must inevitably attempt to achieve a multiplicity of educational purposes, and in doing so must inevitably fail to achieve any one of them effectively. Any significant development of joint courses also implies a degree of joint responsibility for the education and training of trade union officers and representatives which is totally unacceptable to the trade union movement." (TUC General Council Report 1973.) Many educators concerned with workers' education would support this view.

For similar reasons, the TUC are strongly opposing a recent report on industrial relations training by the Commission on Industrial Relations. They prefer trade union education to be conducted "on the basis of continuing and developing co-operation between the trade union movement and the public education service, and particularly between the TUC and the bodies responsible for further and adult education". Public funds should be channelled through the Department of Education and the universities, and employers' contributions should be limited to the provision of paid educational leave. The TUC prefers courses to be held on educational rather than industrial premises.

All this illustrates the vital point that trade union workers' education must be planned as an equal partnership between the trade unions and their educational partners, be they universities, community or technical colleges, or educational institutes or associations, voluntary or statutory.

SECTION IV. STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION

It would be best to deal with this section as a case study, that is to describe the impact that this new direction in workers' education has had upon the one university of which the writer has intimate knowledge.

(a) Staffing

Nottingham now has eight full-time staff members who have been appointed to give the major part of their teaching and thinking to the industrial programmes. This team includes teachers of industrial relations, economics, industrial psychology, industrial sociology, labour history and labour law. It is their business to rethink their basic disciplines and adapt them to the needs of trade union officials, shop stewards and shop-floor workers. In addition, other members of the staff contribute to the programmes, particularly in the teaching of intellectual skills and techniques of personal communication. Alongside the university, the WEA district has made a similar number of appointments, so that between us we can deploy fourteen or fifteen full-time tutors whose professional lives are dedicated to workers' education of this systematic kind.

Other universities and other institutions have been doing the same sort of thing and the corps of full-time professionals centrally concerned with this work is now long enough to warrant the formation, over the country as a whole, of a Society of Industrial Tutors. This body, formed by the tutors themselves, now meets regularly, has a lively annual conference and is doing a great deal to disseminate information about teaching material and teaching method.

(b) Committee Structure

When a programme grows to the size of that in Nottingham (we now teach approximately 2,000 men and women a year), a committee of those involved is necessary to oversee the whole enterprise. Accordingly, a Joint Committee for Adult Education in Industry has been formed with representatives from the trade unions, from the management of firms whose workers are involved, from the University, from the WEA and from the student body. This committee deals with questions of policy, advises on curricula, discusses future developments and considers reports. A similar committee operates for the very large piece of work done with the mining industry.

(c) The Industrial Relations Unit

The sense of identity of those engaged in the Department's industrial programme is now so well formed that they have spontaneously established within the Department an Industrial Relations Unit. The purpose of this unit is to back the considerable teaching programmes with empirical research into all aspects of workers' education: needs, curricula, methods, and results. Here again, a Policy Committee has been established with representation from the trade unions, management, other educational institutions involved in work with industry, the University and the WEA. Some other universities, notably Warwick under Professor Hugh Clegg, have concentrated effort and resources in the field of industrial relations. Post-graduate and higher degree courses in industrial relations and research mounted in response to trade union needs, are now an established feature of the Warwick University Unit.

(d) The Industrial Relations Journal

Another result of our renewed activity in workers' education is the foundation of a new journal, edited from the Department in Nottingham and published in London. It is designed to be read by the non-academic as well as by the academic and has already published a number of articles by trade unionists and trade union officials. It has now been going for three years and has a well-established readership. It is shortly to begin publishing some of its articles in French and German, in the expectation that British membership of the European Community will lead to a mutual interest in comparative industrial relations.

In summary, it is possible to say that a significant number of British universities (see Appendix) are now trying to make a serious contribution to workers' education through their extramural departments. This contribution is different in kind from the efforts of earlier years because it is based upon approaching the worker as a member of his industrial community; it is staffed and promoted by teachers and organisers who want to spend their professional lives interpreting their subjects to working people, and it is governed by co-operative structures made up of elements from the educationists, the trade unions and management.

SECTION V. RANGE OF COURSES

The list of courses in Appendix 1 to this paper shows something of the range of work. One-day and weekend schools appear in the list (e.g. University of Hull), but the overwhelming majority of courses are much longer and involve systematic study. Many of them are mounted on a day-release basis; students are released for a full day or a half day a week for 10, 20 or 30 weeks in the year. The University of Sheffield has a three-year day-release course for workers in the mining industry; Nottingham has two-year and one-year courses; Leeds has three-year and two-year courses. All this adds up to a solid piece of systematic workers' education committing both students and universities to serious study.

The subjects followed are all related to the needs of a man as a member of a working community. Economics, politics, industrial relations, industrial psychology, industrial sociology, labour history and labour law are the main basic disciplines from which tutors work their material to fit the needs of particular groups.

Teaching methods are designed to make use of the life experience of members of the group and to allow for their maximum participation and involvement in the learning process. The relationship between student and tutor is one of equality - the equality of adulthood. The tutor's only authority lies in his special competence in his subject, and even here he will almost certainly find that, in some areas, one or other of his students knows more than he does.

SECTION VI. FINANCE

In Britain, the trade unions are prepared themselves to undertake and finance the training of trade union officers in their functional duties, and would not welcome participation from outside in this respect. However, when it comes to trade union education, as distinct from training, the unions recognise that they need assistance from educational agencies and public funds. University extramural departments and the WEA receive 75 per cent of their teaching costs from the Department of Education and Science. University extramural departments are also basically financed from government funds through the University Grants Committee and by direct grant from the DES. The Russell Report recommends a continuation of these arrangements, that the WEA should also receive government aid for development and administrative costs. The adult colleges should also continue to receive direct grants in respect both of their current costs and capital development.[1] One new college of this type should be established with capital grant in the North of England. (There is now considerable discussion as to whether this should provide long-term courses of a year or more, or whether it would give greater service by providing intermediate length courses in "modules" of two months, in the hope that key trade unionists, e.g. convenors of shop stewards, might secure

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[1] In 1972-73 the Ruskin College grant from the DES was 119,000 pounds out of total expenditure of 197,000 pounds.

"block release" to attend such courses without giving up their jobs or relinquishing their trade union roles.)

The Russell Report recommends that trade union education should continue to be subsidised from public funds to the same extent as the rest of adult education, and that "fees", whether paid by the trade union or the student, should not be so high as to "discourage any significant category of people from making use of the provision".

Students accepted by the long-term residential colleges should automatically receive grants adequate to cover their college fees, maintenance and dependants' needs. (In practice, most students already receive grants on this basis.)

SECTION VII. RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION

Comparatively little is spent in Britain on research and the preparation of special teaching materials for trade union education. In recent years, the WEA has established a Social Studies Centre, which produces regular bulletins of teaching material on industrial relations and social problems, with a special grant from the Department of Education and Science. Ruskin College has established a small Trade Union Research Unit to supplement the work of trade union research departments, providing background statistical analyses. The Society of Industrial Tutors, which brings together university, WEA and technical college staffs working in the industrial relations field, is planning the publication of a series of teaching manuals.

The government-sponsored Social Science Research Council is showing increasing interest in the industrial relations field, and is working closely with these universities prepared to sponsor industrial relations research of a kind acceptable to the trade unions, notably Warwick University, under Professor Clegg.

In general, there is growing appreciation in official circles in Britain that the state universities' contribution to management research and education ought to be balanced by an equivalent contribution to trade union needs. But much still needs to be done to redress the balance.

SECTION VIII. EVALUATION

Throughout the twentieth century, British universities, in partnership with the Workers' Educational Association, the residential adult colleges, and the trade unions, have made an increasing contribution to trade union education. A substantial volume of public funds has been channelled through them to develop the programmes. Trade unions have been accepted into full partnership in planning the programmes. Such control as the State has exercised has been through the discreet influence and advice of educational inspectors. The universities have set standards, for example in the validation of the adult college diplomas and some extramural diplomas and certificates for external students in close consultation with the colleges and the trade unions themselves. The result has been a significant contribution to trade union leadership and staffing at national and local levels. In return, the universities have gained from a significant inflow of mature students with trade union experience. These have not only made a sizeable contribution to university undergraduate programmes in social studies, but have also provided a cadre of university teachers and research workers who combine academic knowledge with practical experience, understanding and sympathy for trade unionism which is essential if a combined operation is to be successful.

At local level and in narrow terms the trade unions may have lost some of their key activists. But at national level and in a broader sense, the trade union movement has gained a great deal by producing a cadre of students with high potential and commitment who have been helped by the universities to equip themselves to perform key roles in national trade union and political leadership, in education and in governmental roles. From the ranks of trade union education have come at least one university Vice-Chancellor, numbers of professors and university teachers; chairmen of nationalised industries; Cabinet Ministers; as well as a General Secretary of the TUC, the head of the TUC Training College; and numerous trade union and political leaders at all levels. The late Tom Mboya, the President of Sierra Leone, the Governor General of Jamaica, witnessed that the impact of Ruskin College has not been confined to the United Kingdom alone. Its former students have made some contribution to the establishment of Kwullome College in Tanzania, the Canadian Labour College and many others.

We trust that others will be able to adopt the experience of British workers' education described in these pages to suit their own circumstances and needs.

SECTION IX. WHAT PART CAN THE ILO PLAY IN FURTHERING UNIVERSITY PARTICIPATION IN WORKERS' EDUCATION?

Clearly general conferences of the kind in which we are now engaged are invaluable. If basic principles can be distilled into a pronouncement backed by the ILO such a pronouncement would have considerable effect upon universities, workers' organisations and even governments.

The ILO could perform an invaluable service as a resource centre, collecting, collating and distributing material about universities and workers' education. Included in this material should be descriptive literature, accounts of experiments and new ventures, philosophic and speculative papers, descriptions of the application of workers' education in specific countries, teaching material and the results of research in the field.

Because of its very high standing as an international organisation the ILO tends to promote conferences whose members match the standing of the Organisation. Very often this means that such conferences are attended by high-level administrators with many other preoccupations than that presented by the items of the conference. Would it be possible very occasionally for the ILO to convene an international conference of those who are actually engaged full time on the ground in workers' education i.e. student-workers and tutors?

It is customary for the world to beat a path to the door of the ILO and it is right and proper that this is so. But would it not be possible for Members of the ILO occasionally to reverse the process and visit the organisations from whom they invite delegates to conferences? For example, it would give many of us great pleasure to show ILO Officers what we are actually doing in the field of workers' education and we should benefit greatly from their advice and counsel given to us in the actual context of the work we do.

Annex 1

BRITISH UNIVERSITY EXTRAMURAL DEPARTMENTS

Courses for Trade Unionists 1971-72

Bristol: 7 day-time courses of 4-15 days, closed, now DES; costs met by company (5), training board (1), union (1).

10 open DES courses, one day - 20 meetings, some trade union students have fees paid by union.

Glasgow: 2 evening courses, 20 and 10 meetings, open.

Sixteen departments had or were planning some kind of association with the TUC Education Department, either directly or through the WEA. Their relationships with the latter will be discussed collectively in 4 below, except in cases where details must be given to explain the present state of provision.

Queen's University, Belfast formerly arranged a programme of sessional, weekend and day courses in co-operation with the TUC. This work ceased in 1971 as a result of changes in personnel and policy on the TUC side.

In addition, a three-year evening certificate course in Economics, Labour Law and Trade Union Structure has been provided, open to the public but intended primarily for trade unionists, with assistance in recruitment from the TUC (Northern Ireland) Education Officer. As the TUC does not wish to co-operate in this type of provision no new courses will be started in present circumstances.

Durham: All day-release, 7 or 8 one-year courses with c. 300 sessions, all except one DES. Normally arranged with single firms.

Recruitment normally by employer in co-operation with shop stewards' training committee. No courses run in co-operation with the WEA.

Hull:

(a) 4 day-release courses (2 of 3 years x 24 days, 2 of 12 days) totalling 372 teaching hours each year;

(b) 5 evening courses of 6-24 meetings, total 120 hours;

(c) 6 one-day courses of 4 hours each.

Teaching costs met by DES for (a) and (b), WEA for (c).

Close co-operation with WEA. TUC handles recruitment to shorter day-release courses.

Keele: 10 courses totalling 214 meetings in the year; day-release, evening and linked residential. All provided in co-operation with WEA which co-operates on certain courses with TUC. Teaching costs from DES, employers, unions.

Leicester: All day-release, totalling 538 meetings, DES. Grant-aided. Only one course arranged in conjunction with WEA-TUC programme, TUC pays fees to WEA.

Liverpool: 3 courses totalling 120 meetings, day-release, DES, some co-operation with TUC in recruitment.

Leeds:

(a) 6 long day-release courses (3 years x 24 days or 2 years x 36 days);

(b) 2 short day-release (12 days);

(c) three-year evening tutorials, of these recruited from students on short day-release courses;

(d) 2 three-year evening classes in co-operation with technical colleges, recruiting students from technical colleges' short day-release classes.

Some TUC co-operation in recruitment to (b). TUC has paid fees for students on (c).

London: All day-release; 10 courses, 7 totalling 140 meetings, 3 of one week's duration, provided in co-operation with WEA in both organising and teaching, all DES. Also one course provided jointly with technical college.

Co-operation with TUC in recruitment, fees generally paid by union or TUC.

Manchester: 12 courses, 11 day-release, most of 10 days, total 600 hours, one evening, 20 meetings. All in co-operation with WEA, which provides services of two full-time tutors. For most courses, TUC pays fees at specially agreed rate, remaining costs from grant aided funds, recruitment handled by TUC.

Nottingham: 10 day-release courses, including 3 of 2 years x 30 days, totalling 802 meetings, 8 evening courses, 172 meetings. All DES. Grant-aided. All arranged in co-operation with WEA in organisation and teaching. TUC pays fees to WEA for certain courses. Most courses arranged directly with employers and local unions, not with TUC.

Oxford: 32 courses, totalling 700 meetings, made up of:

-	day release	250 meetings
-	block release (10 day)	200 "
-	half-day release	160 "
-	weekend	80 "
-	evenings	10 "

All DES, all but two courses in co-operation with WEA, in some cases through joint committee involving also technical colleges, fees paid by TUC as block payment at a rate 50 per cent higher than general grant-aided work.

Sheffield: Mainly long day-release courses, total number of meetings 1,032. All DES. Most courses some co-operation with WEA in organising and teaching. Some co-operation with three technical colleges. Courses normally with single industry, recruitment through the union concerned, limited co-operation in other fields with TUC.

Southampton: All day-release, 8 courses of 5-12 days, DES, some courses run in co-operation with TUC and WEA, latter providing part of teaching.

Wales: Bangor: 2 day-release courses, one 3 year, one shorter, totalling 120 hours, 2 day schools. Co-operation with WEA and technical colleges in past year, but not in 1971-72. Limited TUC links.

Wales: Cardiff: 5 day-release courses, totalling 126 meetings. No WEA role. 1 course provided where fees paid by TUC.

Wales: Swansea: 5 day-release courses totalling 132 meetings, DES. Co-operation with WEA and TUC, latter recruits.

Note: Of the above departments, four describe themselves as represented on the relevant TUC Regional Education Advisory Committee(s), two have lecturers co-opted as individuals and in one case a retired extramural lecturer is co-opted as an individual. The remainder have no association with the TUC's regional advisory committees.

Annex 2

EXTRACT FROM RUSSELL REPORT ON ADULT EDUCATION

Adult Education in Relation to Industry

In part I we have referred to the effects on adult education of likely changes in patterns of work and leisure and the needs of adults in their economic and occupational roles. It is widely recognised that in a period of radical and rapid change the economic health of the nation will depend as much upon the perception and staisfaction of the "non-vocational" needs, including those thrown up in the course of employment as upon an adequate provision of technical education. No one agency will meet all of these, occurring as they do at different levels and in different contexts; but each of the major providing bodies will have its own role to play.

In recent years post-experience courses in management education have developed rapidly in universities, business schools and further education establishments. Technical and scientific courses are arranged for qualified employees who need a refresher course, an introduction to modern developments, or study in fields related to their own. Such courses may be related to the specific requirements of a firm or industry and there is often close co-operation between the industrial sponsors and the educational agency in planning the syllabus. Some of these post-experience courses are paid for by industry through fees approximating to economic costs, but in general there tends to be a subsidy from the educational institution.

The education of trade unionists has traditionally been a function of adult education, and in co-operation with the TUC and major trade unions, is one of the fastest growing points in "role education". Extramural departments, the WEA, some polytechnics and an increasing number of technical colleges are involved in the education and training of shop stewards which is being developed in accordance with an agreement between the CBI and the TUC[1]; and the long-term residential colleges, notably Ruskin, offer courses for trade union students and others interested in the study of industrial relations, through which many trade union officers and tutors have received their education.

In a period when industrial relations are becoming increasingly complex, it is of vital importance that the large numbers involved on both sides of industry should be given the opportunity to study the problems and acquire the necessary techniques. It is a multidisciplinary study, embracing elements from economics, psychology, sociology and political science. Whilst the growth of day-release and factory-based classes for shop stewards and trade unionists is encouraging, only a small proportion of the estimated 170,000 shop stewards (with an appreciable annual turnover rate) is yet covered and an even smaller proportion of rank and file workers. The Code of Industrial Relations Practice encourages trade unions and managements to "take all reasonable steps to ensure that stewards receive the training they require" and "seek to agree on arrangements for leave" for this purpose. The study of industrial relations by management is equally essential. The whole field is so extensive and so important that all the major providing bodies, including the residential colleges, can contribute to it. Where, as is sometimes done already, the two sides of industry can join to study the subject together, greater mutual understanding can result. Adult education, whoever may be the immediate provider, should be able to promote such developments.

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[1] Training Shop Stewards, TUC, 1968.

The TUC regard trade union education as "a distinct sector within the total provision of adult education", separate from vocational training on the one hand and liberal adult education for trade unionists on the other. The evidence of the educational agencies concerned is that this work could be rapidly expanded if increasing resources were made available. The WEA Social Studies Service Centre provides a nucleus for the provision of teaching materials. There is urgent need for the development of tutor training in this field and for the appointment of an increased number of specialised tutors. The TUC in its evidence urged that increased grants be made available to the educational bodies concerned in trade union education to enable them to expand their work to meet this growing need. We regard this partnership between the trade unions and the adult education movement as a fruitful one, ensuring that genuine educational values and an objective approach are fostered. Like other voluntary bodies, the trade unions cannot be expected to meet the full cost of this type of "role" education and the same principles as are adopted for the provision of other forms of adult education should apply. The main contribution of industry to this work takes the form of paid educational leave, the costs of which are met in some cases from industrial training grants.

Educational Leave

The bulk of non-vocational adult education has always taken place outside working hours, in evening classes, at weekends or in summer schools. For many years, however, the principle of day release for young workers up to 18 has been embodied in education legislation in this country. The Education Act, 1944, provided for compulsory day or block release for one day a week or eight weeks a year for all young persons under 18 for "such further education ... as will enable them to develop their various aptitudes and capacities and will prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship", but this part of the Act has not yet been brought into effect. Day release, primarily for vocational education or apprenticeships, is available in many industries, and in 1970 there were over 600,000 benefiting from it at all ages (150,000 over 21). A further 52,000 students were taking block release courses. The growth of such schemes however is disappointingly slow, and affects only certain industries and sections of workers. Only 10 per cent of women employees under 18 were taking day-release courses in 1969, compared with 40 per cent of young men. Provision for general education courses compares unfavourably with that for vocational courses. There has however been some growth of these, particularly for trade union education. Joint CBI-TUC statements in 1963 and 1967 provided for shop steward training during working hours, and in

1967 the Central Training Council encouraged industrial training boards to give grants for this purpose.

We have already referred to the concept of "permanent education". A feature of the European discussion of this concept has been the increasing attention paid to the question of "educational leave" for workers. As long ago as 1964 a UNESCO general conference invited member States "to grant workers leave, paid if possible, necessary for training in the framework of permanent education". The International Labour Organisation has also been studying this question since 1965 and has under active consideration a proposed international instrument concerning paid educational leave. The consensus of views such as these is that paid educational leave would be regarded as a new social right responding to the needs of modern society, and would embrace general, social and civic education, training at all levels, and trade union education. Minimum rights of paid educational leave would have to be established by law or by collective agreements, and the arrangements would be the joint concern of the public authorities, educational institutions, and organisations of workers and of employers. For trade union education the unions would be fully involved in the selection of candidates and the approval of programmes.

Some countries in Western Europe have anticipated these recommendations by introducing legislation which provides for specified periods of paid leave for approved courses of social, trade union or vocational training, and which is usually supplemented by collective bargaining agreements between national employers' associations and trade union centres.

A general review of the position in England and Wales is now needed. We hope that the TUC and CBI, in consultation with the appropriate government departments and educational agencies, will take action to ensure that we do not lag behird, and that adequate opportunities are given for workers seeking day or block release with pay for appropriate courses, including courses of the "role education" type provided by universities, WEA districts and technical colleges in partnership with trade unions and similar bodies. Facilities for these should be equivalent to those offered to management and professional groups for post-experience courses.

The Broader Education of Workers

Trade union education and training is one of the means by which many people are brought into contact for the first time with organised adult education. Courses in industrial relations stimulate wider interests and there is therefore a great opportunity for the adult education agencies to provide "follow-on" courses for individual trade unionists and others. Courses in social studies, communications and similar subjects primarily for trade union groups are a valuable means of bringing industrial workers into contact with the wider world of adult education. We would support any action that further strengthens the links between trade union education and the general provision of adult education.

Appendix VIII

UNION-UNIVERSITY AND INTER-UNIVERSITY CO-OPERATION IN WORKERS' EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

(Information Paper) - Herbert A. LEVINE

Introduction

This paper attempts to highlight some of the principles and features of union-university and inter-university co-operation in workers' education in the United States. The paper is designed as a discussion document for those considering entering into these forms of collaborative effort in workers' education.

The history and variety of the American experience is well documented elsewhere![1] The emphasis here will be placed in three areas. First, arguments for and against union-university and inter-university collaboration will be set forth and some guidelines for the process of collaboration examined. Second, some examples of collaboration will be shown and a case study of the collaboration will be shown and a case study of the collaboration of the Rutgers University with the New Jersey labour movement will be presented. Third, the key issues in union-university collaboration and an outline of some new directions on the American scene will be discussed.

Available at the Symposium for reference purposes is a compilation of informal materials written by United States union and university labour educators about their own experience in collaborative educational activity. Despite the fact that some of these were drawn up in haste to meet the Symposium deadline, they make interesting and useful reading for they express, on the whole, the basic issues involved, the programme content and, most often, a personal reaction to collaboration.

Perhaps it might be well to note at the outset that in the United States workers' education, labour education and labour studies are used interchangeably. Yet it is true that in the heyday of their particular use one can find some special emphasis which could be interpreted as a difference. Workers' education was performed in the largest part by independent labour education services and by political groups in the period of the early 1900s up to the Second World War. In the 1940s and through the middle 1950s labour education came to be more generally used to characterise activity by the trade unions themselves in educating their members. Co-operation with universities in these years consisted primarily of educational activity which was offered through the union organisation to specific groups of union leaders.

Labour studies is a term which came into prominence within the last decade. It is characterised by both education through the union organisation and increasing opportunities for workers to pursue individual study programmes leading beyond the short-term ad hoc programme into baccalaureate and advanced degrees in labour studies. Some see more in the changing designations than an adjustment to shifting emphases. They suggest that purpose, curriculum spirit, and end result of the educational experience are different due to the heavy involvement of universities in the field and to the changing concerns of union leadership.

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[1] For this and subsequent notes, see Annex 1.

The similarities among workers' education, labour education and labour studies are emphasised in the United States when they are contrasted to industrial relations. A good proportion of workers' education in the United States is performed within schools or institutes of industrial relations, but there is a continuing struggle within these institutions to establish and develop autonomous labour studies programmes. Both union and university labour educators believe that industrial relations education prepares its students primarily for positions in management or government although some few graduates of these programmes have found their way into the labour movement. Thus professional union and university labour educators are likely to continue to use workers' education, labour education and labour studies interchangeably with a special emphasis in the coming period on labour studies.

Labour studies call for a focus on the history, the present status and future prospects of the nature of work, those who work, the institutions they create to advance and defend their interests and the consequent economic, social, cultural and political ramifications. While these studies would be valuable to any intelligent adult, labour studies goals are aimed at helping the worker to become (1) a contributing member of his own union group; (2) a participating citizen in his community; and (3) a more developed individual. Thus a student who completes a labour studies programme should participate in the life of the labour movement, in labour-related bodies at the state, federal and international level and in organisations involved in social causes. Since, of course, no one can or should attempt to control the use any particular individual will make of his learning, some worker-students will move out of the ranks of labour after completing their studies. This is predictable and not a source of special concern, providing the largest majority find their place in the labour movement.

Labour stands at the gates of the universities outcast, for the most part, and hungry for the fruits of education. In the United States the largest single group of Americans deprived of a college education is the adult-worker population - and so it is around the world.

J.M. MacTavish put it a little strongly in a speech at Oxford in 1907: "I am not here" he said, "as a suppliant for my class. I decline to sit at the rich man's gate praying for crumbs. I claim for my class all the best that Oxford University has to give".

American union and university labour educators have asserted that "universities can, and should, render genuine educational services to organised labour groups just as they have been rendering such services for many years to business, farmers and other functional groups in our society". Whichever way the idea is expressed it seems clear that in the coming decade universities will be called upon to help meet the needs of workers for research and instruction in the field of labour studies.

SECTION I. UNION-UNIVERSITY COLLABORATION[2]

Union-university collaboration in the United States has worked to the mutual benefit of the academic and labour institutions. The process of collaboration, however, has been imperfect, with periods of harmony mixed with those of tension and strained relationships. Some unions make enormous contributions to the specific worker and general educational concerns of the university. Other unions refuse to work with universities or set difficult criteria as the price for collaboration. While some universities relate exceptionally well to the union's educational interests, others provide only the barest minimum of educational services. Many union and university labour educators are satisfied with their relationships. Some are not yet certain as to whether American university involvement has been a positive or negative factor in the development of workers' education. Despite the fact that there remain many unanswered questions, university labour education programmes continue to multiply, their budgets and resources increase, their curriculum offerings and the quality of their programmes improve and the numbers of labour students served is increasing.

There are presently some 35 American universities[3] affiliated with the University Labour Education Association that have been providing labour education study opportunities for the past quarter century. The development of these programmes had varied in time and form but the trend has been similar.

Labour education has generally entered the academic arena through the door of the extension division as a result of requests by organised labour for service. In many universities that is where the labour education programme remains hanging precariously on the edges of academe, not fully accepted or welcome in the club but tolerated as "public service". In a few unitersities labour education has won a measure of academic status and it appears that this trend will be more substantially visible in the next few years.

Establishing a Programme of Labour Studies

From its inception, the crucial problem in union-university collaboration is the method to be used for delineating responsibility between the two parties for the development, recruitment, faculty assignment and administration of the educational programme. In some ways, it might be fair to say, the issue is never settled but is the result of continuous negotiation and reaffirmation.

As a general rule today university labour education conducted through the union organisation is co-operatively developed and jointly administered with shared teaching responsibilities. It is important to note, however, that in the initial period when the two institutions were more suspicious of each other, some universities tended to severely limit the role of trade unionists as teaching faculty. Some university officials were uncomfortable with the general tone and spirit of labour education. The vitality of union residential summer institutes, for example, which expressed itself in labour songs, occasional demonstrations at nearby picket lines, the viewing of social action films and the programming of speakers engaged in social causes was a form of education uncommon on the university campus. Unions, on their part, sometimes refused to register the names of individual participants in attendance at a university campus and occasionally insisted that only the union should provide a certificate of attendance to the student.

The nature and extent of union-university collaboration is affected by the quality of the education programme provided by the international union education department. A strong national union programme has its own goals and objectives which tend to call upon the university to provide supplementary educational service. In the extreme, this sometimes works out to mean that the union programme is so strong that the university is used only minimumly as a "hotel with atmosphere". In the main, however, a strong national education department complementing a strong university-labour faculty has resulted in outstanding union-university collaboration in subjects ranging from grievance procedure through social, economic and political policy discussions.

The Trade Union Consulting Committee

The primary vehicle for union-university collaboration is the university labour advisory or consulting committee. Where this committee functions well it is extremely useful to both parties and effective in representing the concerns of workers' education. However, some of the committees are dominated by prestigious labour leaders who seldom come to meetings or who come only to associate with the top university officers and do not take the time to involve themselves in substantive matters of curriculum, fee policies and other details associated with programme development.

In other cases, universities "capture" local or state labour advisory committees who may not be so well informed on the larger educational issues and who thus become "rubber stamps" for the proposals brought forth by the university. Only the rarest of universities provide ongoing educational activities and substantive discussion of curricula trends in the United States and abroad in the field of workers' education at their trade union consulting committee meetings. Where this is done, however, it immeasurably enhances union-university co-operation and strengthens the labour educational service provided. In most instances where the labour advisory committee is weak, one is likely to find a minimum concern with labour education among faculty and administrative personnel.

A viable labour consulting committee must of course recognise, in its membership, the more powerful labour leadership in the relevant trade union bodies within the jurisdiction of the university. But the committees that work well have among their members representatives of unions who are actively engaged in labour education activity. It is these union leaders who understand and help with programme development, curriculum teaching, administration, budgeting, political in-fighting in the halls of the legislature, the university and within the union itself. The labour advisory committee should be consulted on all matters relevant to the conduct of a university labour education programme including the hiring of the director, faculty and part-time teachers, the curriculum, fee schedules and the specialised activities of the programme. Within the process of consultation there must be room for honest disagreement, occasional acceptance by one party or the other on a particular issue, but in the main if the labour consulting committee's advice is not more often taken there is little use in such a committee.

The universities question on their part as to whether this means the academic institution is surrendering its rights and submitting to the censorship of the union. Unions, like universities and other institutions, have internal politics and these issues sometimes intrude upon the relationships with universities. Therefore, some universities reject any control over their actions by an outside group. It must be said that some unions have attempted to dictate the hiring of a particular faculty and the limits of the universities offerings in labour education. Successful consensus lies somewhere between these two extremes.

Problems in Administering the Programme

A successful university labour education faculty must know and understand the ideological and policy differences which exist among trade unions. In the United States, the sometimes extremely sensitive matter of jurisdictional competition among unions presents a difficult situation for university labour studies faculty. In some areas of the country unions sometimes object to representation in the affairs of the labour studies programme of unions which are not affiliated to the AFL-CIO including those which practice collective bargaining but call themselves professional associations.

These have been and will continue to be sensitive areas in union-university co-operation. A good rule of thumb is for the university to provide an educational service with the same quality of excellence and integrity of teaching to all legitimate unions seeking the benefits of higher education without regard to the specific policies or ideological commitment of the union.

What Shall Be Taught

Some universities approached the substances of workers' education with trepidation and attempts were made in the early days of collaboration to set limits to the range of subjects offered. Thus union organising, strike strategy and tactics, methods of labour social action, even labour in politics were from time to time questioned, prohibited or simply never included in some university programmes. Today some of these restrictions are currently in force, but there seems to be a broader, more openminded view of what can be taught.

Universities are not, of course, to be propogandists for a particular union; they usually do not involve themselves in policy matters as they relate to specific unions or grievances or negotiable items or specific collective bargaining settlements or arbitrations. There are rare instances where unions have invited academicians to critcally evaluate internal policies and practices and some of these programmes have been considered successful by both parties. However, even today the fear of some unions that universities tend to be dominated by businessmen and by faculty generally insensitive to and disinterested in the needs of workers' education has not been fully dispelled. There is no doubt that in many American universities the labour education programme is engaged in a constant struggle to obtain a secure base on the campus, for recognition of the academic quality of its curriculum and for acceptance of its faculty as professional educators. There remain large gaps in the curriculum offerings in most American university labour education programmes because the university administration and the general academic faculty have conceded only incomplete recognition of the legitimacy of labour studies as a discipline. It is amazing to see the variety and quantity of educational services available to the management on the American university campus which is only rarely ineffectually protested by some liberal arts faculty. Labour studies seem, unfortunately, to marshall heavy opposition in academe by suggesting even the mildest curricula designed to provide substantive study of the labour movement. Nevertheless, the beach-head is secure and the trend is for labour education curricula to broaden in all phases of university programming in such a fashion as to more readily meet the needs of the labour movement for research and instruction in the field.

Who Shall Teach

No university with integrity will abrogate its right to assign a faculty to teach in its educational offerings. More than one great battle has been fought by American universities for academic freedom against dictation by outside groups about when and how to apply faculty resources. More often American labour has supported these struggles. Yet no trade union can be expected to deliver its membership to a university programme where the faculty is consistently against the labour movement and opposed to the existence and mode of behaviour of the labour movement. This is a very difficult problem which must be resolved before effective union-university collaboration can take place. Most American labour educators believe that labour education rarely works well unless the faculty of a university labour education service has been drawn from individuals with life experience as union leaders or social activists feeling a strong commitment to the labour movement.

Some universities refuse to permit union labour educators to teach in their programmes, others attempt to mount a joint union and university faculty for a particular programme. In a few universities union experience and the personal intellectual strength of union educators are accepted as equivalents for formal schooling and accreditation and these union educators have been accorded faculty status.

Can faculty really be impartial and uncommitted? It is not likely. Each teacher has a philosophical base, a set of principles and a concept of his place in the world. These should show through with the greatest attention to objective presentation, full representation of alternatives and maximum opportunity for variation and dissent. One does not seek a university labour educator loyal to a particular union or blind to the faults of some union leaders or one who cannot recognise the essential distinction between teaching and propoganda. But it is disastrous to a university labour education programme to be committed to a director and faculty who have no real affinity for the labour movement, little understanding of its inner workings and no experience with trade union leadership or rank and file workers.

Financing Labour Education

The methods of financing American university labour education are as varied as the number of institutions providing the services.

Since most university labour education programmes are on the campus of the state university, unions expect and struggle for the programmes to be subsidised to one extent or another. Fees for classes, conferences and summer schools vary considerably among the engaged universities. Strong labour advisory committees have helped increase the state subsidies and to keep the fees at a minimum. Currently the union contributes the greatest sum towards a labour education activity. It pays lost time, travel, subsistence and sometimes all tuition costs. Public grants and private foundation funds often support specialised and innovative labour education activities. A relatively new source of funds is management through tuition refund and industry-union educational advancement funds which are generally obtained through collective bargaining. In the auto industry, for example, the company will reimburse workers for educational efforts up to $500 per person per year. Individual workers and union members often have to pay for their own education at the baccalaureate or advanced-degree level. In some cases the union provides a scholarship.

SECTION II. INTER-UNIVERSITY COLLABORATION

Inter-university collaboration at the national level was first successfully attempted in the early 1950s through the Inter-University Labor Education Committee which consisted of eight universities. These included UCLA, University of Chicago, Cornell, University of Illinois, Penn State, Roosevelt, Rutgers and University of Wisconsin. The IULEC activities were sponsored by the fund for adult education.[4] These activities eventually led to the establishment of the independent National Institute for Labor Education which had the added feature of including union and university labour educators on its board of directors. A host of new and exciting programmes were sponsored or stimulated by NILE. Perhaps its major contribution was the continuing national contact it maintained among universities and unions.

By 1960 NILE was waning due to cutbacks in its financing. The universities whose programmes were multiplying felt sufficiently confident to establish a university labour education association financed by institutional dues.[5] The ULEA provided the universities with annual opportunities to assess new developments in the field, to relate at the national level with the AFL-CIO National Department of Education and the national education directors of the unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO, to co-operate on novel experiments, to work jointly with the AFL-CIO in assisting in the establishment of new university labour education programmes, to encourage exchange of faculty and materials, and to influence the academic status of labour education programmes, faculty salaries, budgets and fee schedules.

At regional meetings of the ULEA, very practical co-operative relationships among universities have been worked out including faculty exchange, materials exchange, joint projects on health and safety, mental health for workers and others. Such projects as the Union Leadership Academy sponsored by Rutgers, Penn State and West Virginia, and the Ohio State Union Leadership programme benefit directly from meetings of this type.

In Michigan, the only state which mounted five university labour education services, two universities were able to restructure their programmes in an effort to co-operate. University rivalries, union pressures and the pressures of surburban Michigan versus urban Detroit have strained this relationship so that co-operation is currently at a minimum level.

Ohio State University, particularly in its union leadership programme, has co-operated with some fifteen local colleges and state universities. California at Berkeley under grant funds has helped develop an outstanding programme with Merritt College and UCLA has helped initiate a programme at El Camino College.

In New York State, Cornell has joined hands with Empire State College to develop the exciting New York City Labor College.

Missouri University has been active in helping the University of Arkansas respond to labour's request for educational services.

Overseas, Cornell University has been involved in helping Chile and Puerto Rico to establish labour education services. Rutgers and Minnesota have been involved with developments at the University of Tel Aviv labour studies programme. Rutgers is also assisting in the plans for a projected labour college in Barbados.

Some current problems in inter-university co-operation include: inter-institutional competition; locus of labour education service in the university; and joint planning.

Some universities resist the natural inclination of their labour education faculties to collaborate with their peers in sister institutions. Thus projects which most sensibly call for inter-state and inter-university co-operation with a union whose jurisdiction overlaps a five or six-state area are truncated or unable to be launched.

All labour education services in American universities are handicapped because of their lack of freedom to develop to their full potential. This is as much a factor of the place of the labour education programme as it is of budgetary limitations. Labour education is housed in most campuses in the extention division or in an institute of industrial relations. Some programmes are under the jurisdiction of professional schools of education or of business administration. In a few universities, labour studies fall under the supervision of liberal arts deans and in even rarer instances in a direct line to the university president. In extension and in industrial relations institutes, labour education competes in its struggle for resources with other units of these bodies. But management, for example, probably has five or six other university bodies providing various educational services to management. The labour education centres are usually the only contact unions have to provide for their educational needs. In this almost constant struggle for survival as a viable programme the university labour educators who have union advisory committee members fully informed on educational policy and aware of the personalities and internal university politics involved in decision making are fortunate indeed.

University-union joint planning is very difficult to achieve in many universities. But it is even more difficult to achieve inter-university planning, integration of curricula, transferability of credit, substantive materials development and interchange of faculty resources. The next five years will see some forward strides in these areas as labour studies credit programmes develop on the American campus.

Co-operation in the use of new educational technology has not yet begun. It is a regrettable fact that labour education, so long respected for its innovative approaches and methods, has fallen far behind other education specialists in the use of new technology. In large measure this failure is due to the fact that labour education services have not devised a co-operative scheme to combine available resources in this field.

It has been a long, hard struggle to develop a labour studies curriculum in American universities and it will be some years before it will be concluded. Historically, the development proceeded through three phases which generally fit the definitions provided above for workers' education, labour education and labour studies. The first, workers' education stage from 1920 to the end of the Second World War, marked labour's initial entry into university facilities. However, workers were permitted to use the facilities only when fully matriculated students were not on campus. The second-quarter century span was the provision of year-round educational opportunities for workers in the extension division. The early years of this stage might be defined as labour education. The third phase began in the early 1960s when a few institutions of higher education began offering a liberal arts curriculum for labour. Shortly thereafter these institutions initiated the process of developing study programmes leading to an advanced degree with a major in labour studies. In universities where extension programmes for workers were in progress these credit-bearing programmes developed to supplement the existing programmes, not replace them. We must keep in mind, however, that these three stages represent a form of analysis which is suggested to enhance our understanding and are not to be considered definitive.

SECTION III. RUTGERS - WHERE UNION AND UNIVERSITY MEET ON COMMON GROUND

In considering the Rutgers experience, it must first of all be understood that Rutgers was the eighth college, founded in the American colonies in 1766. The college was a private Dutch-reformed institution which encountered financial difficulties for many years. Under the Morrill Act of 1862 Rutgers became a Land Grant college and it was not until 1945 that it became an official state university.

Like all Land Grant colleges, Rutgers was to "... teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts ... in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life".* Rutgers, like all other Land Grant colleges in the United States, has not yet accepted its responsibility for the education of mechanics (workers) as it did the education of the men in agriculture.

A second factor which must be understood about Rutgers is that many of the schools and colleges which make up the university have had their own history as autonomous schools and were combined with Rutgers at different periods. Thus at Rutgers separate undergraduate colleges have their own academic departments which in New Brunswick alone can mean as many as five distinct departments of history with separate chairman, faculty and budgets. With this as background we can now develop a case study of the development of workers' education at Rutgers.

First Stage

Rutgers University was the site in 1931 of the First Annual Labour Institute in the United States which was hailed by the Workers' Education Bureau as a tribute "to the farsightedness of New Jersey Labor and the University and as a pattern of effective Labor-Education cooperation".[7] The "Institute" held on the Rutgers campus after commencement, was an educational conference for state labour leaders which had broad themes and outstanding speakers. This conference was conducted annually for twenty-five years, but the real significance of this initial Institute was that it served as a model for labour-university co-operation in some forty states in the United States.

This labour institute, founded in 1931, was a compromise worked out after almost eight years of discussion between the director of the Workers' Education Bureau and the director of extension at Rutgers University.

Suspicious of the university institution, the Workers' Education Bureau insisted that workers' education be offered entirely by trade unions. The role of the university was simply to supply appropriate faculty to be used in the educational programmes which would be conducted in union halls or in other places off the campus under direct control of the union. The university resisted this proposal because under this arrangement the university would have no part in organising, planning and curriculum development, and therefore could not be considered a co-operative venture. The university also argued for courses to be made available for all workers regardless of union or other affiliation (an argument rarely encountered in current American labour education until advanced degree studies became involved).

After years of discussion between the New Jersey labour leadership, national AFL leaders such as Matthew Woll, the director of the Workers' Education Bureau and university officials a compromise plan was developed. The compromise called for a labour institute to be sponsored by the New Jersey AFL, the Workers' Education Bureau and Rutgers University. However, before initiating the programme President John Thomas of Rutgers, in order to "strengthen his position" with the University Board of Trustees, asked the New Jersey labour movement to adopt a resolution requesting the University Board of Trustees to permit such a project. This was accomplished by Arthur Quinn, president of the New Jersey AFL at the 1930 convention of that body.

The university, however, was still very sensitive to the "probable difficulty we at Rutgers would face if industry were not fully informed of the project".[8] As a result, the university requested and received permission from the union representative "to invite not less than twenty officials of industry to attend the institute as auditors".[9]

The labour institutes were well attended, gala affairs where issues of some serious import were discussed such as unemployment (1931), financial instability (1932), labour and the world economic problems (1933), labour and the national defence (1941), and winning the war and building the peace (1945). Participants in these conferences included Henry A. Wallace, Francis Perkins, Sir William Beveridge, Haakon Lie, Dr. Richard Towney, Dr. James T. Shotwell, George Meany, Matthew Woll and others.[10] The labour institutes were taken seriously by both the unions and the university. The planning committee made up of union and university personnel met frequently throughout the year and the union leaders looked forward eagerly to their "University Program".

The Rutgers Labour Institute was unlike earlier attempts to provide workers access to educational programmes on a university campus in several aspects. First, the Rutgers programme lasted from three to five days, depending upon the year, whereas the earlier programmes on university campuses ran from four to eight weeks. During the depression years these longer programmes encountered severe financial hardship because of their duration. Second, the Rutgers student body consisted of labour leaders who were recruited through the union, while the independent schools selected factory workers regardless of union affiliation.[11] Third, unlike Rutgers, the other programmes were not administered with the co-operation of the university, but rather independent groups used the campus for its facilities. Finally the other schools while trying to appeal to the labour movement did not hold their programme in co-operation with the labour movement.[12]

Second Stage

Educational service was not provided by the university for labour on a year-round basis until sixteen years later in 1947 when one of the prime movers of the original labour institute programme, then serving a term in the State Assembly, introduced a bill calling on the state legislature to finance an institute of management and labour relations for the "purpose of promoting harmony and co-operation between management and labor and greater understanding of industrial and labor relations, thereby to enhance the unity and welfare of the people of the State".[13]

The IMLR as it was originally established included three separate teaching programmes, one for management, labour and the public. In addition, the IMLR consisted of a research section, a library and a director's office. The law which established the IMLR made provisions for an advisory committee composed of an equal number of representatives of management, labour and the public. This committee which initially consisted of three representatives from each section met on a quarterly basis to discuss IMLR policy matters. An interdisciplinary faculty advisory committee was established to discuss and evaluate curiccula of the teaching departments. The state legislature budgeted $50,000 for the functioning of the IMLR.[14]

The labour programme within the IMLR was staffed by one senior professional labour educator and two junior faculty members who held one-year appointments renewable for a maximum of four years. Staff meetings of the IMLR were convened by the director and attended by the senior members of the faculty of the management, labour, public, research and library.

Although one of the purposes of the act included the desire to enhance harmonious relations between labour and management, there was little harmony within the IMLR. Internal struggles broke out between the labour chairman and the director over the scope of labour education, what could or could not be taught and budgetary and staffing limitations. These struggles were intense in the early years of the IMLR, including bitter personal fights before university review committees which caused turnovers in personnel. These internal struggles spilled over to the advisory committee where labour and management representatives often caucused separately before advisory committee meetings with their respective university counterparts.

Amidst this strife the IMLR faculty held endless discussions over how one promotes harmony between labour and management. Even though these discussions were never resolved they centered on two alternate methods of approaching the objective. Some felt that classes should be conducted with both labour and management students in the same class. Others argued for separate classes with occasional joint sessions when the parties had some mutual interest. Labour representatives were adamant on the question of separate classes, conferences, summer schools and other basic workers' education services. Their position was based on the premise that labour leadership was entitled to know and understand their union tasks, as well as the social, economic and political issues that impinge upon the labour movement. They requested basic educational services for specific international union groups at all levels such as resident staff schools, regional conferences, local union classes and international summer schools.

Thus in this early period it was clearly established that while the IMLR "basic objectives to promote harmony, co-operation and understanding in labour relations shall guide the activities of the staff"[15], the services to client groups would be offered by separate though related autonomous programmes within the IMLR. Thus the labour programme recruited and maintained a separate part-time faculty of about one dozen people who were labour intellectuals with extensive experience in the labour movement. Most of these faculty members held a minimum of academic certification and were, as it turned out after some twenty-five years, rather poorly treated by the academic community. They were, however, great for the quality and character of the labour education service. Their dedication, self sacrifice, willingness to meet their classes at any hour of the day or night (for shift workers) and the high morale with which they approach their work encouraged the union leaders and members to participate in educational effort. As soon as the labour education service began to take hold on the campus, the local union leadership responded with requests for educational programmes.

In the first year-and-a-half "the labor program conducted eighty-seven courses with a total enrolment of 1,396 students. Subjects taught included Human Relations, Collective Bargaining, History of the American Labor Movement, and Public Speaking. In addition to this, the labor program presented fifty-four film discussions to 4,612 students; two forums with 2,000 participants, twenty lectures to 1,038 students and fifteen strip-film-forums to 1,393 students".[16]

Thus the IMLR labour programme, housed in the extension divison of the university, developed as an educational service to organised labour. This was not that unusual for the extension division in many of its activities was client oriented. Some examples of services to specialised groups are those conducted for tax assessors, the Stonier School of Banking, the programmes for engineers, nurses, health services, social workers, and the specific educational interests of adult groups which vary from art classes to accounting.

During this period the faculty of the Rutgers labour programme came to know and work closely with the state and national labour representatives. It soon became apparent that the IMLR advisory council consisting of three labour, three management and three public figures which met quarterly for a few hours per session, was not an adequate vehicle for university-union programme planning, curriculum development and the resolution of other educational issues. Thus after about seven years of operation the labour programme of the IMLR established an additional trade union consulting committee composed exclusively of labour representatives whose duty it was to advise the labour programme on all aspects of its activity. Some twenty-five labour representatives sat on this committee which met on call as necessary. For many years this committee met with the university labour education faculty as often as every two months. Subcommittees met more often and many members of the trade union consulting committee volunteered as part-time teachers in a variety of labour education programmes. There is no doubt that the close relationship of this committee to the staff of the Rutgers Labor Education Center has been a determining factor in setting the character and tone of the university's contribution to labour education in the United States. There was and is, however, one problem that should be raised here as it must undoubtedly be a point of contention anywhere. This relates to who will determine the membership on the trade union consulting committee and who is eligible to serve on it. Initially, the university invited the New Jersey state leaders of labour to serve on the committee. These included the presidents of the AFL, the CIO and the independent unions. Other members were state vice-presidents or men who held otherwise powerful labour positions. It was earlier agreed that representatives on the committee would be drawn from within the state. National labour educators were invited to some meetings but only one national union educator was an exception to this approach.

One of the early problems concerned the attitude of high-ranking state AFL leaders that they should select the other members of the committee which would have resulted in the exclusion of some unions and, in particular, those non-affiliated independent unions. Over twenty-five years this has remained a sensitive issue. There is no question that top labour leadership must play a significant role in a university labour education service. However, prominent state labour leadership is often too busy to attend meetings and sometimes not as concerned about the details of labour education required of members of a committee as active as the trade union consulting committee. Rutgers has mitigated this source of tension by enlarging the IMLR advisory committee to seven representatives of management, labour and public. The Labor Education Center invites the more prestigious members of the labour movement to serve on this council. While they also hold ex-officio membership on the trade union consulting committee the vast majority of the latter committee's membership is composed of union leaders who were selected because they are representatives of a union which participates actively in the Rutgers Labor Education Center programmes.

By 1955, the programme at Rutgers was clearly established as a labour education unit, with a newly-added trade union consulting committee functioning actively in addition to the IMLR advisory committee, with a core of capable part-time faculty and a relatively substantial basic labour education service. By this time, too, the academic advisory committee which initially monitered the offerings of the IMLR had fallen into disuse and has never been reconvened.

Intermittently from 1955 to 1958 and then continuously from 1959 to 1970, the second director of the IMLR set the parameters of budget and staffing and then governed with a "laissez-faire" approach which allowed each programme to develop. During this fifteen-year period under administrative autonomy and support from the university administration at all levels, the labour programme of the IMLR deepened and extended its offerings, improved its full-time and part-time faculty, solidified its relationships with the labour movement at the state and national level and took its place in the front ranks of American universities engaged in providing labour education services.

The period of getting acquainted was over and the union representatives became enthusiastic volunteers as teachers, discussion leaders, speakers and recruiting scouts in the basic labour education subject areas. They attended "instructors candidate schools", took on burdensome assignments generally without compensation and in a variety of ways expanded the offerings of the university in workers' education. These years brought only small additional amounts in the labour programme budget but they permitted a most significant change in the quality and character of the faculty. Trade union experience became one of the more significant criteria for faculty membership along with teaching and research ability. The faculty were offered long-term and tenured positions so that the original limitation of one-year appointments was discarded. This change attracted more mature and capable faculty members to the Rutgers labour programme.

In the eighteen years ending with 1973, Rutgers (1) first consolidated and then broadened its basic labour services to meet the unions need for knowledge, understanding and experience in such areas as community action and civil rights, health programmes, educational advancement and upgrading activities, the arts and humanities, public sector collective bargaining problems and new methods of organisation. (2) Secondly it initiated and developed what might be termed an intermediate level of labour education. These programmes like the Union Leadership Academy and the certificate programme in labour unionism corresponded to the national trends towards long-range "liberal arts for labor" programmes which took the union leader one step beyond the workplace. They featured courses in labour economics, labour history, the mathematics of collective bargaining, and they were an intermediate response to the workers' demands for education beyond the specifics of his trade union tasks as shop steward or local union officers. These courses were generally offered in co-operation with the university extension division and did not entitle the holders of the certificates to academic credit despite the fact that workers may have invested four or more years of individual effort. (3) A third feature initiated toward the end of this period (1967) was the launching of study programmes leading to academic credit and advanced degree programmes in labour studies.

Let us briefly relate chronology to programme development and to some of the issues which arose as workers' education secured its base in extension and advanced onto the academic campus.

1956 The Union Leadership Academy was founded initially as a co-operative venture of one union with Rutgers. This programme is currently sponsored by twelve international unions, the National Education Department of the AFL-CIO, and three universities: Penn State, West Virginia and Rutgers. Currently there are five academy class centres operating in three states. Workers sign up individually for this four-year programme, although the union often pays tuition costs. Hundreds of union leaders have participated in the Union Leadership Academy and many have found more responsible places in their respective unions. This programme could not have been launched or maintained without the co-operation of union labour educators who taught in its classes, served on committees and recruited students.

1958 The certificate programme in labour unionism was a four-year individual certificate programme for labour leaders made available through the extension division on a non-academic credit-hour basis. The programme required the equivalent of eighteen credit hours in trade union subjects and twelve hours of liberal arts. However, when a labour student, upon completion of the programme, desired to enrol in the university for a BA he was forced to start all over again, losing the extension credit hours. The certificate was granted during the regular commencement exercises of Rutgers university. Only two labour leaders ever received this certificate although many enrolled in the programme. The programme fell quickly into disuse because it became clear to all concerned that it was absurd for a labour student to spend several years completing thirty credit hours of study on a terminal programme. Should he be stimulated to become a BA candidate he would be forced to begin his formal studies over again and lose his investment in extension study. It took nine more years, however, before a Bachelor of Arts with a major in labour studies was initiated at Rutgers.

1961 The Rutgers Labor Alumni Association was founded. This group is composed of labour students and has enrolled more rank and file trade unionists to participate in the development of labour studies. The Labor Alumni helped raise funds for scholarship and the advancement of labour education. They specifically helped develop a film and record on labour songs.

1962 Labour Education Center Building - Lewis M. Hermann, vice-president of the state AFL-CIO, one of the leaders of the original AFL labour institute and the state assemblyman who introduced the bill establishing an institute of management and labour relations at Rutgers, accepted the chairmanship of a compaign to raise funds from the labour movement which resulted in obtaining at Rutgers the first labour education centre building on any American university campus. For over a decade this building, which was contributed by the labour movement, has seen continuous service to workers' education and to the academic and general community.

1964 Community Action - In 1964 the Rutgers Labor Education Center, in co-operation with the union, developed the most outstanding labour community action training programme launched during the abortive American war on poverty. The project helped minority groups to advance their income and status and assisted many to find useful employment as organisers and staff members of trade unions. The volatile state of mind of some of the participants and the unorthodox teaching methods which included the theory and practice of social action caused the programme to be criticised in certain quarters. Strong support from New Jersey labour and from an enlightened university administration helped sustain this unique programme and make it successful.

1965 Internship in State Government - New Jersey labour, the New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry and Rutgers established a nine-week internship in state government for local union leaders. This programme offered workers an opportunity to study state government at Rutgers along with a work experience in some phase of the labour and industry activities. These included workmen's compensation courts, wage and hour division, employment security, migrant workers, unemployment insurance and other services. The labour leaders were obligated to write a critical report recommending legislative or administrative changes which would help workers obtain their legal benefits.

1966 In another three-way co-operative effort, the New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry, the labour movement and Rutgers Labor Education Center developed and maintained a vocational rehabilitation project designed to intergrate the union organisation into the referral and rehabilitation system of the New Jersey Rehabilitation Commission. Hundreds of workers who were physically or mentally injured were helped back into gainful employment by this project.

1967 This year brought the first real breakthrough the academic credit barrier that for so long had caused workers' education to be confined only to the most peripheral place on the campus. A department of labour studies was established in the evening college at Rutgers. It was natural for this development to begin in the evening college which enrolled some 8,000 adults as students who were able to pursue their studies without lost time off the job. The impetus for this new academic programme came principally from the workers themselves who were looking for next steps as they completed the basic and intermediate non-credit programmes in the extension division. These aspirations found expression at the trade union consulting committee meetings. The university labour education staff then began the struggle for academic recognition of the validity of labour studies as a discipline within the colleges and schools of the university. It was fortunate, also, that at this time there was a labour representative on the board of governors of the university who played a significant role in the larger educational issues facing the university as well as with respect to the concerns of workers' education. Thus, under his leadership, the support of the trade union consulting committee, the labour members of the IMLR advisory council, the officers of the Rutgers Labor Alumni Association and the university labour education staff, the university administration agreed to support an orderly expansion of the faculty and resources available to labour studies.

1968 A programme of labour studies leading to a Master of Education and a Doctor of Education was approved. A graduate assistantship was provided to give some help to this programme. One full-time faculty member was allocated to the department of labour studies in University College.

1969 A Bachelor of Arts degree was launched in Livingston College, an undergraduate day college composed of youth, many of whom belonged to the working class and minority group families who lived in the urban centres of New Jersey. This year the administration authorised a professor of education and labour studies to be hired in the graduate school of education, a second faculty member to be added to the evening college programme and a faculty member to be hired to direct the BA in labour studies at Livingston for the day students.

1970 The federated department of history at Rutgers, covering all the New Brunswick colleges, added a PhD programme in comparative labour history to their other offerings. While this programme was technically not in the control of the labour studies faculty, it was and is being developed in full co-operation between the two departments.

1971 Rutgers, in consultation with its trade union consulting committee, assisted the Essex County Community College to establish a programme in labour studies. This programme was aided in setting up a country-wide trade union consulting committee, an extension service and an associate degree programme in labour studies. The president of the Rutgers Labor Alumni Association, who had been appointed a trustee of Essex County College, played and continues to play a significant role in this outstanding example of inter-institutional co-operation in labour education.

1972 In co-operation with the operating engineers, the Middlesex County AFL-CIO Council and Middlesex County Community College, the Rutgers Labor Education Center helped develop an associate degree in electrical engineering at Middlesex College which was linked to the apprentice training programme of the operating engineers. The liberal arts aspect of the degree will include a labour studies curriculum.

1973 On 1 July 1973, Rutgers established a New Brunswick federated department of labour studies which linked all the separate extension and degree-granting programmes into one formal structure. This considerably strengthens the position of labour studies in the academic community and lays the basis for the next stage in Rutgers participation in the development of workers' education.

Thus, by 1973 Rutgers had developed a basic trade union programme constrained only by budget and staff workload, an intermediate programme of substance and national repute and had breached the academic barriers to workers' education specialists. The evening college which began operations in 1967 now enrols fifty-eight labour studies majors, over five-hundred students, and has six labour studies alumni. The Graduate School of Education has nineteen masters and thirty-one doctoral candidates with nine alumni, seven of whom are working for trade unions, university labour education programmes or completing advanced study. There are eight graduate students enrolled in the PhD programme in comparative labour history. The labour education services 2,136 students in direct classroom activities and several thousand more at conferences, conventions, union halls and other union activities.

Naturally, the developments since 1967 which seem to flow so rapidly from year to year did not come easily. Both union and university labour educators had to continuously argue the rationale, find ways to provide financial support, volunteer to teach courses even when funds were lacking and by recruiting and advising students. As these programmes developed, in 1970 a change occurred in the directorship of the Institute of Management and Labor Relations. A new struggle broke out between the labour education programme and the director which was reminiscent of the early days of the IMLR but which this time resulted in the establishment at Rutgers of a Master's degree in industrial relations. The IMLR had attempted to mount an interdisciplinary industrial relations programme several years back but it failed from lack of student interest. The labour education faculty and the labour representatives on the various advisory committees at Rutgers were not opposed to an industrial relations degree but were disturbed by the IMLR's reluctance to assist in the development of a Master of Arts degree in labour studies. The union and the university labour educators felt these to be complementary degree programmes for, in their opinion, most industrial relations degree-holders seek employment from management. The tensions created over the efforts to develop these programmes seem to have abated on the surface but it appears that the basis for a new tendency to develop at Rutgers has been laid by the advocates of the industrial relations programme. It is interesting to note that the Rutgers Graduate School of Business was not very much interested in the degree and pleased enough to permit the IMLR to sponsor it. Both the labour movement and the Rutgers labour education faculty have agreed to co-operate with rather than fight the IMLR industrial relations degree provided the IMLR permits the full development of the labour studies degree. Since 1973 has brought the appointment of still another director of the IMLR committed to the full development of both programmes, the future seems promising in this area. At the graduate school level, however, the committee which approved the industrial relations degree has not so far given its approval of the labour studies degree.

Thus, after forty-two years it is still necessary to struggle on the Rutgers campus for the legitimacy of workers' education in all its ramifications.

To achieve its rightful place on the Rutgers campus, workers' education has been forced to break the extension barrier and to advance from college to college in an effort to provide a full measure of educational opportunity to labour study students.

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This process, though more advanced than in most American universities, is far from complete even after all these years and despite the outstanding co-operative relationships Rutgers has maintained with the New Jersey and national labour movement. As Rutgers in 1973 enters a new era in workers' education the clearest and most hopeful statement of the intentions of the current administration at Rutgers is expressed in the words of the university president when he spoke recently before a group of New Jersey's leading trade unionists.

President Bloustein proposed that Rutgers offer to working people and organised labour in New Jersey an educational service equal in excellence to that heretofore provided for agriculture and its related fields. This broad statement serves as the basis for current planning for the future of Rutgers involvement in labour education. Its implementation will not easily be accomplished.

SECTION IV. THE FUTURE OF WORKERS' EDUCATION AT RUTGERS

Expansion of Basic Labour Education Services

The Labor Education Center is the university's point of direct contact with the labour movement. Its purpose is to provide educational services designed to improve the knowledge and understanding of trade union leaders with respect to their functions as union leaders, as concerned citizens in their community and as individuals seeking self-improvement through education. Central to its purpose are programmes which promote harmony, co-operation between labour, management and community groups. The priorities of the labour centre are the following:

- trade union education based on a progression of learning opportunities;
- ethnic and racial conflict resolutions; equal employment and affirmative action programmes for women and minority group workers;
- expand labour studies academic programmes through co-operation with other divisions of Rutgers, community colleges and state colleges;
- educational needs of public sector workers;
- educational advancement counselling and programmes for workers;
- labour explores the arts;
- use of new media in labour education; and
- labour and international affairs.

Labour education centre programmes are directed at the following constituencies:

- Blue and white collar workers in a broad cross section of industries who have been deprived of opportunities for higher education and left out of the educational mainstream;

- Spanish-speaking workers - educational counselling and training services aimed at intergrating them into the decision-making bodies of the labour movement and the community; programmes which help this population overcome barriers to upward mobility.

- Black trade unionists and minority group youth entering the workforce - programmes that open opportunities for advancement on the job and within the labour movement and deal with the problem of discrimination and racial conflict.

- Women workers - educational and training activities which deal with advancing equality at work and in the union; furthering equal educational opportunities; encouraging skillful participation by women workers in the political life of the community and the union.

- Public sector workers - programmes directed at the most rapidly-growing section of the workforce which aim at providing understanding of labour legislation, the labour movement, collective bargaining techniques, contact administration and methods of impasse resolution.

- Young workers - programmes which develop their union leadership potential, bridge the generation gap and encourage their contribution of new and fresh ideas into the labour movement.

- High and intermediate-level union officers in programmes that provide skills in coping with the increasingly complex roles they are required to fulfill at the bargaining table and in the community.

- Labour studies students - relating degree candidates to work study opportunities with unions, use of the Labor Education Center as a learning laboratory, supervision of field settings for learning experiences in labour education.

Consolidation and Development of New Brunswick Federated Department of Labor Studies

The purpose of the department of labour studies is to co-ordinate labour studies research and teaching, both graduate and undergraduate, the recruitment of appropriate faculty and to plan future development in this academic field of study. The labour studies department reviews, evaluates and proposes improvements in ongoing programmes in the field and is available to assist in the development of new programmes at such colleges, schools or divisons that seek such aid. The department provides support for students in labour studies including work-study arrangements in unions, industry and state government; student counselling and tutoring; some modest scholarship funds and other appropriate academic and financial assistance. The units which comprise the federated department of labour studies include:

(1) University College

The labour studies programme at University College is designed to provide adult students with an understanding of the social, economic and political origins of work arrangements in American society and to foster an understanding of the basis of trade unions and their role in society at large. It is to serve as a centre of learning and experimentation in areas including the trade union movement, governmental agencies, and the general society which emphasise innovative ways of improving work relations and work-related problems.

The University College labour studies department is dedicated to the adult student, already at work on a full-time basis, who wishes to learn more about the theory and practice of labour unionism. Initiated in 1967, the department now has sixty-five majors, five-hundred students and nine graduates. It is interesting to note that five of the nine are local union officers; six out of the nine graduated with honours (2), high honours (2), and highest honours (2).

The Bachelor of Arts curriculum in labour studies offered at University College includes:

Liberal Arts and Science	60 minimum credits
Humanities	12 minimum
Social Science	12 minimum
Mathematics	6 minimum
Major	30 minimum credits

Major requirements: courses in labour studies or selected courses (with a minimum of 24 credits in labour studies) with the consent of the department in anthropology, economics, history, management, political science, sociology, psychology, urban education.

Total - minimum of 30 credits.

575:201,202	The development of the labour movement (3, 3)
575:301	Trade union structure and administration (3)
575:303	Black workers and the labour movement (3)
575:304	Racial labour problems and public policy (3)
575:310	Organised labour and the urban crisis (3)
575:401	History, philisophy and development of collective bargaining (3)
575:402	American labour law and social legislation (3)
575:403	Comparative social and labour legislation (3)
575:404	Basic issues and the labour movement (3)
575:405	Theories of the labour movement: the European experience (3)
575:406	Theories of the American labour movement (3)
575:408	Comparative labour movements (3)
575:415	Data sources and research methods in labour studies (3)
575:420	Current labour problems (3)
575:491,492	Seminar in labour studies (3, 3)
575:493,494	Honours project - labour studies (3, 3)

The following courses are offered by the department of labour studies in co-operation with the respective departments listed below:

090:316	Human resources and the urban crisis (3) urban education
090:317	Vocational psychology and industry (3) urban education
090:401,402	Women, work and social change (3, 3) psychology, urban education
090:405	Education for social participation and manpower development (3) urban education
090:420,421	Violence in America (3, 3) political science, urban education, police science, sociology and history
090:430	American labour unions in the political arena (3) political science
090:450	Police and organised labour (3) police science

Free electives	30 minimum
Total	120

The faculty of this department in co-operation with the labor Education Center has been in contact with fifteen state and community colleges for the purpose of aiding these institutions to develop a labour studies programme.

(2) Livingstone College

The labour studies programme examines the effects of evolving work process and emerging work relationships on American culture. Within this conceptional context, students examine the impact of work on people today; the role of work in American history and particularly its legal, political, cultural and continuing societal impact. Detailed examination is made of the Black and immigrant work experience; women as workers; the history of labour organisations; protest groups; radical parties; as well as unions and the parallel development of management organisations and theories. There will be opportunities to study comparative labour movements, work and the arts, especially literature and contemporary work problems. Students will acquire work experience during their studies as interns in unions, in the university, in government and in industry.

To fulfill the requirements for a major concentration in labour studies, a student must successfully complete four one-semester courses in labour studies, two courses in economics, two in sociology and four additional courses from among related courses, or from labour study courses, or from other courses with permission of the senior faculty member in labour studies. Courses in labour studies offered by the University College and in labour education by the Graduate School of Education are also available for this programme.

02:090:113,114	Work in contemporary society (4, 4)
02:575:205,206	Indentured servant and slave to post-industrial men (4, 4)
02:575:305	Conflict and conflict resolutions in the workplace (4)
02:575:315	Work organisations, their structure and administration (4)

02:575:400	Work and mental health (4)
02:575:410	Readings, research and independent work in labour studies (4)
02:575:417	Seminar in theories of the labour movement (4)
02:920:460	The American labour movement 1945-1970 (4)
02:220:304	Labour economics (4)
02:220:357	Economics of discrimination (4)
02:220:377	Economics of population (4)
02:510:407,408	Social protest movements in modern Europe (4, 4)
02:512:414	The United States in the nineteenth century (4)
02:730:323	Social philosophy of Karl Marx (4)
02:790:226	American Radicalism (4) psychology of political leadership
02:920:111	Social class (4)
02:920:311	Industrial sociology and work (4)
02:920:489	The American working class (4)
02:975:281,282	Urban economics (4, 4)

(3) Graduate School of Education

The labour studies concentration in the Graduate School of Education fosters an understanding of the labour movement, its role in the development of the educational system in the United States and its role in the larger society.

It provides teachers and educational administrators with an understanding of the professional tools used by practitioners in the field of public education collective bargaining including teachers' associations, union, school board associations and other developing organisations in the field.

It especially provides for students who wish to find a place in the labour movement, opportunities for professional study and experience with labour education theory and practice.

Initiated in 1968, the Graduate School of Education labour studies programme current enrollment includes nineteen candidates for an MEd in labour studies and thirty-one candidates for an EdD. Included in the nine individuals who received an MEd are the present director of education of the Barbados Workers' Union, a deputy director of the Ethiopian Labor Movement (CELU), the former director of the AFT-AFL-CIO civil rights department, and a labour education specialist on the faculty of Cornell University.

Labour studies in the Graduate School of Education is interdisciplinary in nature, drawing upon the resources of the departments of social and philosophical foundations, educational administration and supervision, vocational-technical education, and science and humanities education.

Students emphasising labour studies in their master's or doctoral programmes are admitted to the Department of Social and Philosophical Foundation. Offerings from other departments, centres, institutes and schools provide elective opportunities to round out the educational experience of the labour study students.

310:500	The culture of work as an educative force (3)
310:501	Economics of education (3)
250:597	Management and labour relations for the social studies teacher (3)
230:500	Collective negotiations for educational leaders (3)
288:527	Education and the occupational role of women (3)
310:506	Theory, practice and evaluation of labour education (3)
310:600	Seminar in labour education (3)
310:502	Education and training for social action and manpower development (3)
310:503	Teachers' unions and associations in selected countries (3)

The Master of Education degree requires from eighteen to twenty-four credits within the Department of Social and Philosophical Foundation with a minimum of twelve credits in labour studies. Six to twelve credits must be taken in another department of the Graduate School of Education or any division of the university.

The external degree with an emphasis in labour studies is designed to develop a more effective method of satisfying the educational needs of Black and Spanish-speaking minority group labour relations specialists who desire to undertake work in labour studies at Rutgers, but who are unable to do so because their employment responsibilities or geographic location make it infeasible for them to participate in the traditional campus attendance-oriented graduate degree programmes currently offered by the university. The second basic objective of this proposal is to demonstrate the feasibility of the external degree approach and thereby develop a model which could be used by other departments at Rutgers and other universities throughout the nation.

This programme will allow students to earn a Master of Education degree with an emphasis in labour studies through short periods of residential study (five weeks per year for two years), independent study correspondence and consultation with faculty. Requirements for the Master of Education in terms of course work and comprehensive examination will be the same as the traditional Master of Education with an emphasis in labour studies.

(4) Douglass College

Douglass College, which is one of the few remaining distinguished colleges for women in the United States, is considering the possibility of establishing a labour studies programme with an emphasis upon the role of women in the workplaces and in the labour movement. Cook College of Agriculture Environmental Science, a new liberal arts college founded in 1973, may see a labour studies programme develop which could emphasise the agricultural worker, health and safety, population problems, the role of unions in the urban environment. The changing undergraduate Rutgers College established an ad hoc committee to consider the establishment of a labour studies programme. Although the committee has reported favourably the implementation awaits further attention.

There is little doubt that the PhD programme in comparative labour history will attract students from the United States and overseas countries once it becomes generally known that such a programme is available.

Fifteen students have already signed a petition in hopes of speeding up the process of establishing the proposed Master of Arts programme in labour studies. The director of the PhD programme in social sciences has already agreed to include labour studies in this interdisciplinary degree offering.

The next few years should see the completion of a skeletal structure of labour studies offerings at Rutgers University. The university, in co-operation with the labour movement, will take the worker and the union leader from whatever point of educational experience he may have acquired through any level of educational development he is prepared to attain from basic trade unionism to the Doctor of Philosophy degree. Fleshing out this skeleton with the necessary increases in faculty, added resources such as graduate assistantship and fellowships and an expanded student body are the work of the next decade in union-university co-operation in New Jersey.

SECTION V. NEW DIRECTIONS FOR UNION-UNIVERSITY CO-OPERATION IN WORKERS' EDUCATION

The final section of this paper will briefly highlight some examples of the new developments in American workers' education that require effective union-university co-operation.

AFL-CIO Labour Studies Institute

The most prominent new development has been the establishment of the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center with a campus of its own in Maryland not far from the capital. A significant feature of this national labour education programme is its affiliation to the University without Walls programme offered by a consortium of American colleges led by Antioch College in Ohio. This programme will provide labour leaders with the opportunity of engaging in study for academic credit without requiring long-term residence at a college campus. The agreements to conduct this programme have just barely been signed at this writing. The future should see a tremendous enrollment of labour students and the expansion of the number of co-operating universities.

AFSCME District 37 - New Rochelle College

Based in some measure of their ability to negotiate an educational fund financed by their major employer (New York City), District 37 instituted a major programme of upgrading their membership's skills and education. Arrangements have been made so that the District 37 headquarters building has been designated as the"downtown campus" of New Rochelle College. Members of District 37 are enrolled on this campus for courses leading towards a Bachelor of Arts degree.

New York City Labor College - Empire State - Cornell

The New York City Labor Council, Empire State College and Cornell University are co-operating on one of the most exciting labour college programmes in the United States. The labour college integrates the Cornell - New York Central Labor Council "Liberal Arts for Labor" programme, with Empire State's ability to accept "life experience" credits. It also provides the possibility of receiving a Bachelor of Arts in labour studies of in industrial relations if a special sequence is taken in these fields which is provided in co-operation with Cornell University. The first commencement exercises of the labour college was attended by a small graduating class but but by a prestigious audience of labour and academic leaders. There are great hopes that this college will help begin to meet the educational aspirations of New York trade unionists.

Operating Engineers - Dual Enrollment Programme

An interesting adaptation to the exigencies of their trade has been developed by the operating engineers' union who are attempting to link an associate degree in engineering to their apprenticeship programme. The programme is designed for men reaching the age of 45-50 who often leave field work and who have been faced in the past with severe reduction in income. Large numbers of engineers are enrolling in this programme which will call for considerable assistance partgicularly from the American community college system.

Labourers-Industry Advancement and Education Field

Financed through collective bargaining agreements this fund provides educational opportunities for its members at all levels including college and advanced study. This kind of fund holds great promise for workers' education.

Community Colleges

University of California - Merrit College, UCLA - El Camino College, Ohio State, Iowa State, Rutgers and the New Jersey Community and State college system are all examples of the new and expanding role to be played in labour education by the community college system.

It appears then that the American scene will see a more complex set of relationships among labour groups, universities and other educational institutions in the United States all designed to provide workers with an integrated pathway for learning about their union job, their role as a citizen and for their own self-improvement.

ANNEX 1

NOTES

1. See Bibliography, also particularly "Rogin, Lawrence and Rachlin", Marjorie. *Labour Education in the United States.* Washington, DC: National Institute of Labor Education at the American University, 1968.

2. "Effective Cooperation Between Universities and Unions in Labour Education", ULEA meeting 30 April 1962.

3. See ULEA Directory, 1973.

4. Hire, Joseph. *Labor Education.* (IULEC: Strauss Printing Company) second printing, 1956.

5. See attached document: MacKenzie, Jack. "The Role of the University Labor Education Association in Promoting the Orderly Expansion of University Labor Education".

6. Morrill Act 1862. Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Congress Session II, Chapter 130, section 4.

7. Miller, Spencer and Taylor, Ruth. *The Pioneer Institute.* (New York: Workers' Education Bureau) in forward by John D. Connors.

8. Miller, Norman. "Events Leading to the Formation of the Annual Labor Institutes", not published, p. 7.

9. Ibid.

10. Miller, Spencer Jr. Op. cit., p. 7.

11. Bryn Mawr's student body was always 50 per cent unorganised.

12. The University of California was running summer schools in co-operation with the California AFL but this was not held on the university campus.

13. Chapter 307, Laws of the State of New Jersey, 1947, section 1.

14. Ibid., section 6.

15. Activities. Institute of Management and Labor Relations, 1949, p. 1.

16. Ibid., p. 2.

ANNEX 2

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Appendix IX

EXPERIENCE IN USSR

(Information Paper)

D. GRIGORIAN

SECTION I. THE SOVIET HIGH SCHOOL AND THE WORKING CLASS

An intense development of a system of education nowadays is one of the most remarkable phenomena of modern historical process.

Today the system of education is being regarded not only as a necessary element but as an active factor of the revolution in science and technology. It opens great possibilities of radical reorganisation of the methods of production, the creation of absolutely new, highly efficient implements of production, progressive materials, new branches. The revolution in science and technology exerts potent influences upon the main element of productive forces - working masses.

From the technological and social-economic point of view the high educational level of working people today is becoming a more and more necessary condition of their active participation in the system of public production. The necessity of a rapid growth of all the links of a system of public education and its transformation into a kind of gigantic industry has become one of the most urgent problems which is in order of the day in many countries.

Paid educational leave is one of the social rights confirmed in the Soviet Constitution which opened wide possibilities for getting education - including higher education - by the working people of the Soviet Union.

The social aim of the Soviet system of education is to raise all the members of society on a possibly higher level of scientific knowledge, and general culture. It corresponds to the objective demands of development of the productive forces of society. The raising of the cultural-technological level of working people is surely a means for the achievement of the highest productivity of labour, but at the same time it is an independent aim of our society, an important step to the guaranteeing of the harmonious development of a person.

The high educational level of working people is necessary not only for their practical everyday realisation of the rights of a joint-owner and manager of public means of production, but, at the same time, for participation in the working out of the collective decisions.

All these objective factors of development of the Socialist society conditioned a purposeful policy of the Soviet Union connected with the wide and regular development of education for the working people.

The Decree of the Soviet Government on 22 August 1918 about the rules of enrolment into the higher schools stressed that payment for education was abolished and that the representatives of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry who would be provided with scholarships on a large scale must be enrolled in the first place. In 1923 workers and peasants already made up 50 per cent of those admitted to higher educational establishments. To increase the number of students of working-class origin was regarded as a task of vital importance from an educational as well as a political point of view.

To prepare young workers and peasants for higher education, special workers' high schools were set up which covered the curricula of the five upper classes of secondary schools in three years.

Before the Second World War the workers' high schools were the main source of recruiting workers and peasants to the institutes. About 1 million students graduated from the workers' faculties for twenty years of their existence. Besides providing workers and peasants with a real chance to enter the institutes, the Soviet Government created a wide network of new institutes. Only during the first three years after the Great October Revolution were there opened more than a hundred of the new institutions in Soviet Russia.

In order to develop the general and the technological education of workers in the years of the First and Second Five-Year Plans there were organised such specific high schools as industrial academies, the course of red managers, the faculties of special purpose, enterprises, higher technical schools, the evening and correspondence departments. In 1927 the All-Union Industrial Academy was opened in Moscow. It offered a three-years' term to train the leading economic specialists for the industry. Eighty-seven workers were among 111 students of the first admission. In 1923 there were 23 academies, among them 11 industrial and 12 of different branches of industry (transport, communal, and so on) with 9,000 students, the great majority of whom were workers.

Tens of thousands of administrative technicians of the enterprises, trade unions and economic organisations graduated from the courses of red directors. Besides that, in 1931 in the technical institutes there were organised the faculties of special purpose for training of business executives without discontinuing work.

Almost all students of the courses of red directors and the faculties of special purpose were workers. The trade unions played an active role in their selection and promotion to the schools. After three or four years they were qualified as a technician or engineer depending on the previous training.

At the end of the First Five-Year Plan and during the Second (the first half of the thirties) in the leading enterprises of the country, there were widespread combinations of schools giving lower and higher education mainly for promoted practical workers and young working people. These combinations of schools consisted of a higher technical school, a technical school, a secondary school and courses of improving engineers' and technicians' qualifications; a great majority of the last group were practical workers.

In 1931 there were organised twelve higher technical schools-plants. The students of the higher technical schools, technical schools and secondary schools studied without discontinuing work during all the term. The last-year students and pupils of the tenth form of a secondary school were free from work. The last-year students got a higher scholarship (in comparison with the visual institutes). The wide complex of the above-mentioned specific high schools and corresponding bodies constituted a series of special education institutions of the working people. They were established between 1920 and 1940 and their urgent task was to set up a new training system designed to enable workers and peasants to become the specialists the country needed. They applied selection procedures based on a main principle of social nature, thus a great majority of their students were workers and peasants, who, after graduating, occupied the command posts in the national economy of the country. Many of these institutions lost their primary sense or changed to a great extent. They were replaced with a wide network of bodies including general scientific and technical faculties, as well as institutes with day, evening and correspondence departments.

SECTION II. TRAINING OF TRADE UNION LEADERS AND MILITANTS IN THE USSR

The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions runs two high-level training establishments. Part-time students take a five-year course, while that for full-time students last for four years.

The Trade Union College of Higher Education in Moscow provides advanced instruction for trade union personnel who possess a sound basis in economics.

To this end, courses are given in labour economics, the scientific organisation of labour in the undertaking, technical standards of elementary physiology and psychology, industrial economics, production organisation and management in industry, agricultural economics, national economic planning, economic and labour statistics, bookkeeping and accounting in industry, use of computers, mechanical treatment of economic data, labour calculations, etc. Great importance is attached to subjects such as the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, political economy, the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism and scientific communism.

Considerable emphasis is laid upon trade union subjects properly so called, such as the history of the trade union movement in the Soviet Union and abroad, the organisation and structure of trade unions (the work they do in organising the masses, in encouraging production, in education, and in ensuring better living conditions, together with their activities in connection with the state social security system, and in the fields of physical education, sports and tourism, labour protection, and trade union finances).

In one of the teaching departments of these institutions students are given practical experience of teaching (in trade union organs) and in production (in industrial undertakings). This is the last stage of the course and is designed to reinforce the theoretical instruction provided. Successful students graduate as "labour economists".

The Trade Union College of Higher Education is at present training 700 full-time students and providing correspondence courses for more than 7,000 others. Some 3,000 people have graduated during the period 1965-68.

The college has ten departments which give instruction and carry out research work. More than 60 per cent of the lectures have an academic title and standing.

Full or part-time post-graduate training is also available for research work and for the teaching staff. The college is empowered to accept theses for the degree of "candidate in historical sciences" (history of the trade union movement in the Soviet Union and abroad) and for that of "candidate in economic sciences" (political economy and labour economics). Since 1965, twenty-one candidates' theses have been presented to the Council of the College, while two lecturers were awarded the degree of Doctorate of Science.

In the past four years, the various departments have produced and published four textbooks, nine monographs and 127 educational pamphlets.

In the Leningrad college, as in the Moscow one, the principal social sciences form the basis of the instruction given. In view of the work which the students will later be called upon to undertake, special attention is paid to such subjects as Marxist-Leninist ethics and aesthetics.

Among the fundamental subjects in the study programme is the course on "cultural-educational work". This involves instruction in the Marxist-Leninist theory of culture and the cultural revolution and on the contents, forms and methods of the educational and cultural work done by the unions and their specialised educational organs. Students learn the arts of the cinema and theatre, music and the graphic arts, the elements of rhetoric and public speaking, psychology, teaching methods, and the organisation of groups of amateur artists. They are also given some instruction in the arts so that they may be qualified to take over the leadership of an amateur group, company or choir.

Theory goes hand-in-hand with practice, in the study of the experience acquired in trade union educational organisations.

From the first stage onwards, students receive practice in educational work. Later on they get full-time practical experience in the educational organs of trade unions.

Graduates of the college receive the title of "Specialist in the Organisation and Methods of Higher Educational and Cultural Work".

At present some 2,000 people are being trained in the Leningrad college, of whom 1,600 are taking extramural courses. Between 1963 and 1967 more than 3,000 persons graduated from the college.

To assist extramural students offices for consultation have been opened in twelve other cities.

These trade union colleges run one-year correspondence courses for persons working on trade union councils and committees, for chairmen of factories or local committees, and for persons employed in the educational institutions of the trade unions.

The students can choose any one of a number of subjects for study. The colleges offer courses in labour economics, trade union organisation, civil and labour law, and in the history of the trade union movement. The Leningrad college offers courses in educational work and in education and creative work in collective art.

Independent work by the students is a fundamental part of the instruction given. The colleges provide for all relevant literature (programmes, suggestions as to methods, instructions for written work). Provision is also made for these extramural students to do home-work which is sent in for correction to one of the colleges. Provided they have completed their programme of studies, the students are summoned to sit for an examination in the appropriate college.

Before they take their examinations, students can attend lectures on general and particular subjects and they can take part in practical activities and in discussion groups. Those who pass their examinations are awarded a special certificate.

Between 1964 and 1967 more than 2,000 people completed extramural courses for trade union personnel.

The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions has organised trade union courses and advanced courses for the training of senior trade union personnel. These courses are taken by personnel of central committees, of trade union councils at the republic, regional and district level, and by persons working for trade union committees and their educational establishments in the Republics, regions, districts, towns and rural areas.

Apart from lectures, practical activities and consultations, students are expected to learn from the experience acquired by others to which much more importance is attached. Thus students visit factories and farms, trade union organs and the educational establishments of trade unions to learn the lessons of experience. Usually not more than four weeks' instruction is given on these courses.

One hundred and twenty trade union courses are organised in diverse regions (Oblasts), districts (Krais) and Republics of the country; they are attended by more than 500,000 persons every year.

The courses are mainly attended by the newly-appointed presidents of factory and local committees of trade unions. Courses are also given for the chairmen of the executive committees of collective farms and for the trade union committees of such farms. They are also attended by the presidents of standing production conferences, of "comrades' courts", the representatives of factory and local committees dealing with grievance procedures, the members of Soviet trade unions and the members of the audit boards of trade union councils, the directors of clubs, the leaders of amateur dance groups, choirs, etc., and trade union librarians. The courses vary in length, depending very largely on the qualifications of the students.

Permanent seminars are a means of increasing the qualifications of trade union workers and militants. These seminars are organised by the councils and branch committees of the trade unions and other "seminar-conferences" organised by trade union central committees. In these seminars, particular aspects of trade union activities are studied; lectures are given on social and political matters, on the history of the trade union movement in the Soviet Union and abroad, on labour legislation and on questions related to the economics of production.

The central trade union committees organise short "seminar-conferences" mainly for the presidents, secretaries and directors of sections of the trade union committees in the Republics, regions and districts. Apart from the lectures, there is a broad exchange of experience in connection with trade union matters.

Several committees of branch unions organise seminars with the trade union militants in the towns and areas where the particular branch of activity happens to be well represented.

In the past few years schools for trade union militants have been opened in increasing numbers of large undertakings, work sites and collective farms. They train trade union organisers and other union militants, the members of shop committees, the members of factory and local committees and other persons active at the primary trade union level. In these schools special instruction is provided for each group of militants and lasts for a year; it is given in accordance with a special programme worked out for each group. A two-month course is provided for each group of newly-appointed trade union militants. Lectures are given on various aspects of trade union activities and on economic, political, social and international problems. The militants exchange views and benefit from the latest experience acquired in undertakings.

"Methods Councils" set up within the trade union councils in the Republics, regions and districts, play an important part in organising the training of senior staff and militants. Within them, there are sections dealing with particular aspects of trade union activities: organisation of the masses, production and minimum wages, state social security, educational work, etc.

These councils and their sections examine training plans, lecture programmes and plans for seminars and practical activities. They maintain a systematic check on the quality of the lectures given and on the practical activities carried out in courses, seminars and training schools. Among the lecturers are experienced trade unionists, thoroughly familiar with trade union activities, officials from party organs, members of the staff of higher institutes of education, persons eminent in arts, engineering and technology.

Particular attention is given to increasing the skills of trade unionists who are detached as instructors and lecturers to give courses and seminars designed for the training of militants. To achieve this, the trade union councils organise special seminars for supernumerary teachers.

In trade union council courses, when the chairmen of committees of the primary trade union organisations are being trained, special lectures are given on the organisation and teaching methods in schools for the training of militants. People attending these courses acquaint themselves with study programmes designed for the training of militants for trade union groups and factory and local committees. They make recommendations and give advice on ways of training newly-appointed militants, and on how to adjust the work they do to the higher qualifications obtained by them.

Future supernumerary teachers in schools for the training of trade union militants are provided with lecture materials, ideas on methods, study plans and programmes, lists of recommended literature, visual aids, and so on.

The trade union libraries play an essential part in the training of senior staff and militants. They organise exhibitions on particular themes, produce bibliographical reviews of literature published by the publishing house of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, organise "readers' conferences", and issue lists of recommended works dealing with the various branches of trade union activities.

To assist supernumerary teachers, and those attending courses and seminars, the above-mentioned publishing house publishes a variety of textbooks and manuals dealing with trade union matters.

In this fashion, the Soviet trade unions possess a broad and well-organised system for the training and advanced training of their senior staff and their numerous militants, so that the important problems with which the Soviet trade unions are confronted may be properly solved.

SECTION III. EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF SOVIET TRADE UNIONS

At all stages of their activity, Soviet trade unions have done a lot to raise the general educational, cultural and technical level of employees. Nine million people attend general evening and correspondence schools, secondary specialised and higher educational institutions.

As a result of the growth in the number of evening and correspondence courses, the number of worker-students receiving respectively specialised secondary education and higher education rose between 1960 and 1970 from 969,000 to 1,830,000 and from 1,240,000 to 2,340,000. Over 4.5 million people are studying at evening or correspondence higher and secondary specialised educational establishments. The Soviet Union has thirty correspondence and evening colleges and more than a thousand correspondence and evening departments at other colleges. They are attended by 2.5 million, over half the entire under-graduate population. A quarter of a million or 44.2 per cent of all 1969 university and college graduates, combined work and study. Those who keep on with their job, while studying can get instruction in most specialities. Evening and correspondence departments and branches of technical correspondence schools and colleges are run in conjunction with most big factories and building projects.

Furthermore, millions of workers can widen their outlook and improve their cultural, scientific and technical knowledge in trade union-sponsored people's universities of culture, and can advance their technical and economic education in Communist labour schools and various seminars.

Having increased the leisure time, the five-day working week affords still more favourable opportunities for people to improve their qualifications and raise their general educational level and gives them a still stronger incentive to study.

After the transfer to the five-day week, in some Urals factories and Latvian enterprises alone the number of evening and correspondence students increased by 35-40 per cent. It is indicative that more than one-third of all young workers with a secondary education continue their studies in technical colleges and higher educational institutions. Paid educational leave and related benefits are of special significance in facilitating the advanced training and education of young workers. A sample survey of machine-engineering enterprises carried out recently showed that over one-third of all young workers with a secondary education continue their studies in specialised secondary education establishments or higher education institutions.

Of course it is not easy to study in the evening, after work, but the State renders great assistance to correspondence students. The working week is reduced by one day or the corresponding number of hours for pupils of the 5th-11th forms of evening and correspondence secondary schools, and by two days for those studying in rural evening and correspondence schools. They are entitled to paid examination leave.

Trade union committees at enterprises, construction sites and institutions see to it that the administration carries out the government decision on granting benefits to employees combining study with work. Factory and local trade union committees help national educational bodies to recruit pupils for schools for young workers and rural youths; they convince young working men and women of the vital need to advance their education and help them choose the most convenient form of study.

The trade union committee organises refresher courses for those who have had a long interval since they last studied. Together with the management board of the enterprise, the committee tries to provide favourable conditions for study: if he needs it, a worker is transferred onto a more convenient shift, study rooms are all allotted to students in youth hostels. Students are usually allowed to go on leave in summer when educational institutions are closed for holidays. The trade union organisation shows especial care for female students. They are given preference in sending their children to pre-school institutions and Young Pioneer camps.

The commissions of the factory committee for mass cultural work and youth activities establish close contact with the teachers at evening schools and follow the progress of the pupils. For example, if a pupil has been absent from lessons due to sickness or some other reasons, and it is difficult for him to catch up, he can always find people to help him. These are voluntary consultants, who are engineers, technicians, or workers with a secondary education.

Trade unions regard education as a matter of great significance both nationally and socially. That is why the majority of enterprises incorporate into their collective agreement an obligation on the part of the administration and trade union organisation to expand general educational and vocational training without discontinuing work. While summing up the results of the Socialist emulation drive, the trade union committee usually takes into account the progress made in raising the cultural and technical level of employees. At many enterprises the presentation of school-leaving certificates to workers is a happy and important occasion in the life of the employees. A memorandum on the results of the academic year is issued, giving distinctions to excellent pupils and to whole workshops best helping their comrades to combine work with study.

At many Soviet enterprises, the trade union organisations and the administration draw up and implement social development plans for the collectives. Initiative in this was taken by the public organisations at Leningrad enterprises. On the basis of profound sociological surveys, their trade union organisations, together with the administration, specialists and many activists, worked out long-term (as a rule covering a period of five years) development plans for their collective. They concentrate on raising the education, culture and vocational proficiency of the workmen. Allowing for the best way of mechanising and automating production, the plans envisage measures to improve the qualification of workmen, and reduce low-skilled and monotonous jobs. The process and methods for educating members of the collective are drawn up on the basis of the results of annual inspections, aimed at determining the general educational and technical level of every member of the collective, and recommending to him a suitable form of study. For example, within one year only, 995 workers of the "Svetlana" association graduated from secondary and higher educational institutions. In 1970, 15,000 employees of this association studied in schools and courses to improve their professional skill, permanent seminars and the Technical Progress University.

People's Universities are among the most popular forms of raising the cultural and technical level of workmen. They are set up in trade union clubs, houses and palaces of culture, recreation rooms, workshops, house management offices, and hostels. At present the trade unions have 94,000 clubs, houses and palaces of culture, libraries and cinema installations. Training lasts from one to three years. For example, the University of the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Works is concentrating on raising the cultural level of its workers. The university has 10 faculties with 17 departments out of which 5 faculties with 12 departments operate in workshop recreation rooms.

The People's University admits all applicants, irrespective of their education, age or profession - factory and office workers, engineers and technicians, housewives and pensioners.

The university is run on a volunteer basis. It is supervised by a council, whose membership, depending on the curriculum, includes teachers, research workers, doctors, writers, journalists, composers, artists, cinema workers, the managers of enterprises and leaders of trade union organisations and innovators of production.

Assistance in choosing lecturers and teachers is given by urban and district branches of the "Znaniye" (Knowledge) Society, higher and secondary educational establishments, and cultural institutions.

The People's University conducts a variety of activities including lectures, question-and-answer evenings, lecture concerts, readers' conferences, meetings with prominent scientists, writers, film directors, composers, innovators of production, discussions of plays and films, excursions to museums and exhibitions, lectures and practical studies at factory shops and painters' studios.

To help students, trade union clubs and libraries conduct group and individual consultations, arrange question-and-answer evenings, meetings with artists, show films and plays, organise excursions, and prepare book reviews.

After the transfer to the five-day working week with two days off, there has been a sharp increase in the number of students in the People's Universities, and many new ones have been opened. Moscow has 470 and the Donetz region 370 of such universities. Take one of them - the Technological Progress University in the Donetz Basin Metallurgical Works. More than 3,000 people study in its fourteen faculties (specialising in blast-furnace and openhearth furnace operation, power engineering, chemistry, etc.). Most of them are workers, but there are quite a few foremen, technicians, mechanics, shop and department chiefs.

The factory trade union committee and the university council saw to it that the faculty curricula were closely linked with the work of the factory and took into account the specific features of work in different workshops. Students were divided into nearly 100 groups so that they might best improve their professional knowledge.

Lessons often deal with urgent problems of production improvement and organisation of work.

Experience has shown that People's Universities are an effective form of ideological and aesthetic education for employees giving them scientific and technical knowledge, enhancing their factory and public activity, and expanding their cultural horizons.

Today there are People's Universities which specialise in literature and art, aesthetic education, technology, chemistry and agriculture, health, scientific atheism, pedagogy, international relations, state and law, Soviet trade, physical culture and sports, etc. Under the trade unions there are approximately six thousand People's Universities attended by 1.5 million working people.

Communist labour schools have won great popularity at enterprises. They were initiated a few years ago by trade union activists in Leningrad enterprises. They combine the study of political, moral and ethical subjects with technological studies, mastering the economics of production and expanding cultural outlook of students.

Trade unions have set up such schools in every industry, on construction sites, state farms, and in all Republics and regions of the Soviet Union.

The curricula of these schools vary depending on the general educational level of students, their professional qualifications and the branch of production the enterprise's employees are engaged in.

Many enterprises put up Communist labour schools right at their production grounds. As students come from allied professions, this helps them to learn advanced methods of work and raise their professional skill more quickly. Lessons usually take place twice a month.

Effective teaching methods are widely used: discussion of topical political and economic problems, doing practical work in workshops, excursions to allied enterprises to learn advanced techniques and the scientific organisation of work, meetings with industrial innovators, scientists, cultural figures, visits to technical exhibitions and theatres.

An economic reform is being carried out in the USSR. The transfer of enterprises to new methods of planning and economic stimulation brought about a massive effort to master economic theory and the economics of production. This helps raise industrial output, perfect techniques and technology, and introduce scientific organisation of work.

Trade union organisations have started an extensive campaign to spread economic knowledge and have sponsored courses and seminars at enterprises for the profound study of the economics of production.

Many higher educational institutions have opened special courses to help train advanced workers for entrance exams. Lessons are held in the daytime, in the evening and by correspondence. The period of studies covers from eight to ten months. In addition study groups of the preparatory departments are opened in large industrial enterprises, on construction sites, in transport and communication organisations, on state and collective farms. On recommendation of party, Komsomol and trade union organisations, preparatory departments and groups admit advanced workers, collective farmers and demobilised servicemen with a complete secondary education. Those enrolled for full-time training receive stipends. They are entitled to additional paid leave to sit for their finals.

Trade unions assist state bodies in training young workers for admission to higher educational institutions and in creating the necessary conditions to enable them to study at preparatory departments.

Boys and girls who have finished eight-year school can acquire a general secondary education and become skilled workers in the most advanced professions by enrolling in vocational schools for three or four years. Trade union councils and committees render an effective assistance in improving education in vocational schools and help to organise the practical work of students at plants and factories.

Appendix X

THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA IN WORKERS' EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

(Information Paper)[1]

Basil R. KABWE

INTRODUCTION

The University of Zambia opened its doors in March 1966, just less than two years after political independence had been achieved. Its efforts in the field of workers' education cannot be compared to the longer and more firmly established universities in all the countries represented at this symposium. In fact, the University is still in a state of flux. It is undergoing the process of change, to suit the national needs.

It is much to the credit of the various international staff of the University that in 1967, only a few months after the Extra-Mural Studies Department was established, the University immediately became associated to trade union workers' education programmes. Much of these efforts can be attributed to the first Director of the Extramural Studies Department, Prof. Lalage Bown.

By 1969 the University of Zambia, through the Extramural Department, had actually come to appreciate the aspirations and objectives of the workers' education programmes mounted by the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU).

SECTION I. SPECIFIC CASES OF COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE UNIVERSITY AND THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The following are specific ventures undertaken jointly between the labour movement and the University's Extramural Department:

1. July 1969. A series of one-day seminars to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the ILO held at all the eight provincial centres.
2. December 1969. "The Role of Branch Union Officials in Industrial Relations".
3. January-February 1970. ILO/UNTZA/ZCTU "Workers' Education Officers Course".

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[1] The views expressed in this submission are purely from personal observations of the author and do not in any way bind either the University or the trade union movement the author represents.

4. November 1970. Eleven days' seminar on "Trade Unions and Co-operatives in Zambia".

5. November 1970. One-week training seminar on "The Role of Union Branch Leaders in Industrial Relations".

6. 1971. Twenty-four weeks' course on "Functional English in Industrial Relations" (evening course).

7. 1-11 September 1971. "International Seminar for Union Leaders in Central and Southern Africa".

8. November 1971. One-week study course for general secretaries on the "Industrial Relations Act, 1971, and the Implications of Economic Reforms for the Trade Union Movement in Zambia".

9. March 1973. Two-weeks' course for workers' education officers.

SECTION II. SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATURE OF COLLABORATION

The above joint educational activities have been largely "ad hoc" and dependent on personal relationship rather than on the "on-going programme" based on the educational needs of the labour movement in Zambia. In consequence, it has not been possible to evaluate the success or failure of this kind of collaboration. It would not therefore be surprising if in the process of these ventures, the resources available at the time worsened and the effectiveness of the whole undertaking decreased.

SECTION III. GENERAL POLICY OF THE UNIVERSITY

Generally, the policy of the University is to attempt to meet the needs of the country as well as to provide training and research, in as far as these are dictated by the influence of technological revolution.

However, there does exist a very serious problem on how effectively the University can meet all the demands of the country, in which the university graduate and the illiterate farmer and worker exist side by side.

While the worker, through his union, may be more vocal and active in demanding of all agencies engaged in training or educational programmes, the illiterate villager simply may keep quiet and acquiesce to the hopelessness of his state of affairs though he contributed to the establishment of the University, materially, as much as the literate and the industrial worker.

SECTION IV. GOVERNMENTAL INFLUENCE

Government policy with regard to all educational institutions, the University included, stipulates among other things:

(a) the creation of a literate and well-informed society;

(b) the creation in the society, a sense of national identity and a sense of dedication and commitment to the national cause;

(c) the creation of the necessary forum for full and effective participation at all levels by the nationals;

(d) the bridging of the gap between the apparent unending problems of rural and urban areas on one hand, and the literate and the illiterate on the other;

(e) the fostering of social and political stability in the country;

(f) the satisfaction of the social, aesthetic, moral and cultural needs of every citizen.

SECTION V. THE FUTURE

The effectiveness of future programmes depends on joint long and short-term planning. Such planning should include co-ordination with several other agencies concerned with workers' education programmes in the country, to avoid duplication.

At the moment, the University conducts among others a one-year Certificate Course in Adult Education. The course is intended to provide professional strengthening for mature persons. If this course provided for an Industrial Relations option, it could form a nucleus of future forms of collaboration between the University and the labour movement. Efforts should be made to arrange suitable conferences, seminars, etc. for the university staff to interest as many of them as possible in trade unionism and to equip them with the necessary knowledge to make their teaching of industrial relations more interesting and effective.

If the foregoing suggestion could possibly be implemented, the University could then, with the collaboration of the labour movement, develop:

(a) assistance in identifying and providing for continuing workers' educational needs in the trade union movement;

(b) assistance in the form of:

  - advice on the working out of appropriate curricula for varying levels of trade union personnel;
  - initiating study groups and seminars on a planned rather than on an "ad hoc" basis;
  - programmes for workers in the field of functional English in industrial relations;

(c) direct help in training workers' educators and officials in the labour movement, in accordance with the over-all process of development and the creation of awareness among workers of their part in achieving national goals;

(d) it is not the wish of Zambia's Trade Union Movement to see the University confine its educational activities to the upper echelons of the labour movement. The University challenge, as seen from the movement, is to break language and literacy barriers through the more effective use of radio and tapes. A six to eight-week annual radio learning-group programme, on aspects of industrial relations and the nature of the labour movement, could be conducted jointly with the ZCTU. I believe that such programmes could lead not only to awareness but also to "doing" and action. They could also contribute to the democratisation of learning opportunities;

(f) the ZCTU is in dire need of full-time Zambian research workers to evaluate material on the labour movement in Zambia which is already available and to conduct further research. The ILO might consider the provision of training and facilities for consultations on a regular basis for such staff who should be experienced trade unionists.

Whatever forms of collaboration are worked out for Zambia, it is the strong conviction of my organisation that educational activities, like politics, cannot be commodities for import into our country.

While we may be influenced by various foreign factors due to our historical, cultural, social and political background, we consider that we have different economic and philosophical ideals which cannot but permit for a continually and rapidly changing concept of the role of the University to meet our rapidly changing needs.